

TRAVELS

FROM

ENGLAND TO INDIA,

IN THE YEAR 1789,

BY THE WAY OF THE  
TYROL, VENICE, SCANDAROO, ALEPPO,

AND OVER THE  
GREAT DESART TO BUSSORA;

WITH

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS;

AND AN

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENCE OF TRAVELLING,

&c. &c.

BY

MAJOR JOHN TAYLOR,

OF THE BOMBAY ESTABLISHMENT;

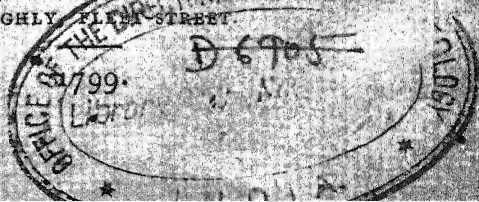
AUTHOR OF

CONSIDERATIONS ON A MORE SPEEDY COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER EASTERN  
DEPENDENCIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

London:

PRINTED BY S. LOW, BERWICK STREET, LONDON.  
FOR J. CARPENTER, OLD BOND STREET, AND MURRAY  
AND HIGHLY, FLEET STREET.



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pressed with a zeal for its interests, I have employed much of my time in preparing the publication which I have now, by your permission, the honour to lay before you.

In this undertaking, not a little laborious in itself, I had difficulties to struggle with, which could only have been overcome by a confidence in the liberal reception it would meet with from your Honourable Court, who are always prompt to encourage every sincere endeavour to promote the welfare of the Company, and of the nation; nor have I, in this hope, been disappointed.

With grateful acknowledgments  
for the testimony of your appro-  
bation

bation to this work, and with the  
highest sense of the obligations thus  
conferred on me,

I have the honour to be,

With perfect respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your faithful and  
most obedient servant,

JOHN TAYLOR.

LONDON,  
19th December, 1798.

## INTRODUCTION.

PREVIOUSLY to the commencement of a journey which has been represented as pregnant with danger and fatigue, and consequently but little resorted to, by European travellers, it may not be unacceptable, in a cursory manner, to inquire, how far the communication by the Desert, between the East and the West, has been useful to mankind; to what extent it was known, and in what degree it has been conducive to the interests and refinement of Europe.—In this complicated view of human affairs, we bring to recollection our commercial origin, and by what steps we have ascended to our present pre-eminence and political influence in the scale of nations.

The army of Alexander penetrated to India by the route of Persia, and returned by the Indus to the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates,

and the Great Desert. Of this expedition Arrian has furnished us with a circumstantial detail. Egypt had also confessed the power of the conqueror. This kingdom, before the days of Alexander, under its native Princes, opened an early connection with India by the Red Sea; for it is universally admitted, that the progress of the arts was from India to Egypt, from whence they reached the shores of Greece, Italy, and the rest of Europe. The situation of Egypt, so highly favourable to commerce, did not escape the discriminating eye of Alexander. In a situation, connecting by a narrow isthmus Asia with Africa, and communicating by two seas with India and Europe, he determined to demolish Tyre, to establish a new emporium, which he accordingly raised, and gave it the name of Alexandria, after himself. On the death of that prince, his empire was divided amongst his principal commanders, and became as many distinct and independent nations; but, above all, Egypt, under a long race of the Ptolemys, continued to increase in opulence and grandeur. During this period, few particulars can be collected relating to the deserts of  
Arabia,

Arabia, or of the communication by that route. The Romans, who took possession of Egypt on the death of Cleopatra, were the only European people of antiquity, who, it appears, attained a perfect knowledge of the trade with India. This they conducted by the route of the Great Desert and the Persian Gulf, and also by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. By these channels the riches of the East flowed into the Roman Empire, and occasioned the vast profusion of jewels, spices, fine cloths, and gold, with which it abounded. The Romans, on the conquest of Syria, found that part of Arabia Deserta which occupies the space between Aleppo and Bussora, and extending towards the Euphrates on the one hand, and Damascus and Palestine on the other, in a state very different from that of the present day. The city of Palmyra was then the great emporium of eastern commerce, from whence it branched out in all directions; regular and well-appointed stages were established, where the caravans might be supplied and repose in safety; wells were dug, and pools formed, in order to remedy as much as possible the want of water. Remains of these are still



visible; and they serve to remind us of the magnificence of Palmyra and Balbec, the fame and riches of Tyre and Damascus: cities reared and nurtured by Indian commerce, scarcely to be equalled, and not outdone by Rome herself. Independently of the advantages which the Roman Empire derived from this communication, they were not neglectful of that by the Red Sea; they were taught by the Egyptians, that an intercourse might be upheld over the desert of Suez and the Red Sea to the peninsula of India, the island of Ceylon, Malacca, and the Bay of Bengal. The port of Alexandria was again fixed on as the emporium of this commerce; and in this port was revived and concentrated, not only the trade of India, but of that part of oriental Africa which bounds the Indian ocean. The Roman vessels were equipped from the port of Arsinoe, now called Suez, from whence they navigated in safety those seas which are by modern accounts represented as dangerous in the extreme. They sailed with the Etesian winds, and understood perfectly in what manner to take the advantage of the different monsoons and seasons of the year, and made their

returns

returns with equal ease, bringing along with them the richest commodities of the places they had visited. These were transported by the means of camels to Alexandria, where they were embarked for various ports in the Mediterranean. The exact situation of the Roman port on the Red Sea has been disputed. The name of Berenice has been given to a port, said to have been placed nearly where Suez now stands, or perhaps higher up in the country, as the sea has receded considerably from the bottom of the gulf, and from whence the Roman vessels were reported to have sailed for India, whilst others have asserted that the site of ancient Berenice was on the shores of Upper Egypt, clear of the narrow sea of Suez, which is subject to partial winds, and badly calculated for commerce. This place, now called Cosfier, is 100 leagues from Suez, and 100 miles from the Banks of the Nile. It is highly probable that the Romans at certain seasons made use of this port in preference to Arsinoe, and that both these ports were frequented by them, as they were well acquainted with the divisions of the seasons, and the coasts of Egypt and Arabia. The

Romans of the eastern empire continued for 700 years to support their authority over Syria and Egypt, till the grand revolution in religion, under the banners of Mahomet and his successor Omar, about the middle of the 7th century, wrested both from their hands.

So far have we derived information from the records of antiquity: but the history of this, as of other parts of the world, is involved in darkness in the middle ages. The crusaders, during a part of the 11th and 12th centuries, over-ran Syria, but in their turn were obliged to relinquish all the advantages they had gained, and to return home, leaving the victorious Saladin and his hardy Saracens to triumph over Christian fanaticism, bigotry, and superstition. It required a considerable time to soften the inveteracy which this contention of zealots had occasioned; and it was not till the 13th century, when the gloom of barbarism introduced by the Goths began to be dispelled in Europe, and the spirit of commerce again appeared, that an attempt was made to re-establish so lucrative a trade as that with India, by the medium of the deserts; for by this time the empire of the

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the Saracens had yielded to the power of the Turks. Constantinople and Cairo were for a considerable period, when Europe was eclipsed in total darkness, the grand depots for the wealth of the East. It will readily occur, that when the spirit of Christianity resumed its sway, and reason succeeded to the madness of the crusades, the restless temper of mankind looked forward to new sources of speculation and enterprise. The crusaders brought with them from Syria and Palestine, and also from Constantinople, at that time the residence of the emperors of the East, a knowledge of policy and refinement, and a taste for the fine arts, which intercourse with the inhabitants of those parts had contributed to inspire. To this cause is to be ascribed the return of learning and science into Europe, the rise of progressive discovery in the West.

So early as the year 1296, John, Duke of Brabant, established a company of merchants and traders, as a society of adventurers to promote commerce and research. This useful order of men were translated into England, and confirmed by king Edward the Third. They however made but little progress

gress till the reign of Henry the Seventh, who bestowed on them the name of " Merchant Adventurers," and under whose auspices several important discoveries originated: for the long and bloody wars with France during three successive Henrys, and the intestine troubles, occasioned by the disputes between the houses of Lancaster and York, absorbed for a time all ideas but such as proceeded from vindictive rage and unconquerable hate. Ideas neither likely to produce nor to encourage experiments or inventions beneficial to humanity.

The phrenzy of religion or insatiable lust obscured the succeeding reigns, till the enlightened and enterprising Elizabeth, with a view to national prosperity, formed this society into a legal corporation; considering that the charges and risk of equipping expeditions for the purposes of trade and discovery was by much too great to be incurred by any individual. It is here worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the insular situation of England, and its position on the globe extremely favourable to commerce, this country in respect to other nations was behind hand in nautical affairs. In the  
reign

reign of queen Elizabeth, navigation, ship-building, and commerce burst forth like a meteor, and the trade to India became the ardent and favourable speculation ; for prior to this period all the larger vessels used by the English were built by foreigners, and purchased from them. In the play of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, written by Shakspeare in the year 1602, Sir John Falstaff, in making mention of his favourite ladies, observes, " They shall be exchequers to me ; " they shall be my East and West Indies, " and I will trade to them both : " a circumstance which clearly proves the estimation in which the trade to India was held, and the expectations that were formed in the very infancy of its commencement.

To the honour of monarchical governments, it is to be observed, that crowned heads have at all times been the uniform promoters of useful discovery. By the means of monarchical influence and power, the blessings of humanity have been distributed to the utmost corners of the earth, and thousands have been made happy who were pining in want, or labouring in obscurity : of which his present Majesty's distinguished  
attention.



attention to the extension of geographical discovery, as well as the improvement of knowledge in general, is an illustrious example. But the Genoese and Venetians having obtained leave of the Porte to settle consuls in Egypt and Syria, revived a traffic with India, which they tranquilly enjoyed for nearly two centuries, and which raised their riches and power to the utmost pitch. The discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope annihilated this commerce, and reduced the states of Genoa and Venice to their present situation.

The enterprising spirit of the Portuguese, aided fortuitously by the religious views of John the Second, king of that country, was of essential service in promoting discovery and navigation. Resolving to explore the unknown regions of Abyssinia, and to gain information regarding the Indies, he was the first monarch who induced Europeans to pass the deserts of Arabia and of Africa. This prince, the cotemporary of Henry VII. about the year 1484, dispatched Alphonso de Payva to find out a Christian sovereign who reigned in Ethiopia, of whom mention had been made by Don Cam, one of those

those navigators who had explored the coast of Africa, and supposed, at that time, to be Prester John, with full powers to enter with him into bonds of amity and commerce. Pedro de Covillan was also appointed to accompany him, and to proceed to India by the way of Cairo and the Red Sea, with orders to communicate every circumstance that might be found deserving of their attention. They reached Tor in concert, and from thence repaired to Aden, formerly a rich commercial town, situated a little to the eastward of the Straits of Babel-mandel, where Covillan embarked for the coast of Malabar, while his companion repaired to Africa to take the route to Abyssinia. Covillan returned home by the way of Africa, visited Sofala, and several ports in the Arabian Gulf. On his arrival at Cairo, he heard of the death of his friend Alphonso, who had been murdered in his way to Ethiopia. This event determined him to transmit to Portugal an account of the discoveries he had already made, and of the information he had received, and afterwards to fulfil that part of the mission which related to Abyssinia. This he also accomplished, and had

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an interview with Alexander, the reigning monarch. It is highly deserving of our notice, that the observations and remarks of this man led to the ultimate discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; and that he was the first European traveller who singly and alone ventured by the unknown and uncertain route to India by land. How far this expedition of Covillan's has contributed towards the object of our immediate inquiry, it is incumbent on us to shew.

It has already been observed, that the spirit of commerce began to re-appear in Europe about the end of the 13th century. At this time the polarity of the magnet was discovered in the West, although it is said to have been long before known to the Chinese, and made use of by that nation. The magnet, for upwards of a century after its discovery in Europe, was not applied to any useful purpose, and was likely to prove but of little benefit to mankind in general. It fortunately happened, that in the prevailing system of the day, extension of commerce, there arose a collateral object of equal importance. This object was discovery, with which the advancement of commerce, as well as of science

ence and political power, was closely connected. Knowledge in the cradle, of slow and lingering growth, required all the protection and encouragement which the fostering care of governments could bestow. Our first adventurers were contented to explore the coasts of Europe and the Mediterranean: and on the African shore Cape Non, the rugged promontory of Mount Atlas, was the Ultima Thule to the South. The Spaniards were possessed of the Canary Islands, which lie at no great distance from the coast of Africa, and the Island of Ferro was at this time the utmost boundary of the known world towards the West. Practical experience and indefatigable industry and perseverance, in the course of time, surmounted all obstacles, and laid open to the Western world the treasures of the East. Discovery originated with the Portuguese, under the auspices of a great Prince, the Infant Don Henry, who, for that purpose, purchased from Maciot de Bethancourt the grant of the Canaries, which the King of Castile had conceded to him. Possessed of a key to the Atlantic and the coast of Africa, Don Henry, about the year 1406, when our throne was filled

filled by Henry IV. fitted out several vessels, and before his death, which happened in 1463, the Continent of Africa, from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona, was explored : and the Islands of Porto Santo, Madeira, the Azores, or Western Islands, and the Cape de Verd, were added to geographic knowledge. Discoveries along the Continent of Africa were unceasingly and determinedly continued, till the year 1486-7, in the reign of John II. that Bartholomew Diaz, having navigated more than 1000 miles of coast hitherto unknown, arrived at and actually doubled the Cape of Good Hope. On his return to the Court of Portugal, he expatiated much on the storms which he had encountered in those seas, and the danger and difficulty which would ever attend all similar attempts. Diaz gave it the name of Cabo Tormentoso : but this John adroitly and properly changed to the Cabo del Buena Esperanza. In the discovery of this Cape he foresaw the future aggrandizement of his kingdom, the riches of his people, and his own glory. Covillan had made it a particular object to ascertain the exact termination of the Continent of Africa on that side  
which

which he was then visiting. From a perfect knowledge of the Arabic, and his intercourse with the Moors, Arabs, and not only with all the traders in the Eastern seas, but also with the merchants of those parts which he traversed, Covillan gained the essential information of this stormy and dangerous Cape, and of any world beyond which they had no knowledge. From this coincidence the King of Portugal was convinced, from letters which had preceded Covillan, that the object of 100 years research was now attained, and the navigation to India within his grasp. Had it not been for the journey of Covillan, this circumstance could not have been known; and it consequently follows that the exertions and energy of this traveller had a considerable share in the honour of a discovery so important and beneficial to human nature, and so particularly interesting to the prosperity and aggrandizement of our own country. It may be a matter of surprise that the Portuguese, when fully informed and convinced of the practicability of a passage round the Cape, should have wasted ten years without making any attempt to establish a trade with India. John II. having died shortly  
after



after the return of Diaz from his fortunate voyage, the succession devolved on his cousin Don Emanuel, who had married his sister. This Prince, in place of treading in the footsteps of his predecessor, and acting from himself, on the bright example which had been set before him, had recourse to the opinions and councils of bigoted and ignorant nobles, by whose arguments and influence the project, which had been recommended in the last moments of the late King, was for a time suspended.

The Spaniards, before this period, had evinced a considerable degree of enterprise in the line of discovery. Columbus, under the auspicious reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492, discovered the Bahama Islands; and shortly after the Continent of North America was discovered by the Cabots, under the patronage of Henry VII. It is remarkable, that the object of Columbus was not the discovery of a new world, but that of a passage to the East Indies by the North West. Jealousy and apprehension stimulated Emanuel, lest the Spaniard should snatch from his hands the glory he had within his reach, and pluck the laurel from his brows :  
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the views of the clergy, who were anxious to propagate the Christian religion in unknown countries, finally determined the choice of Emanuel to equip a fleet of four vessels, and manned with only 160 men. This small armament set sail from Belem, the port of Lisbon, in the year 1497, in order to discover the coasts of India, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and which, with little difficulty, was happily effected.

From this period no mention is made of any other itinerant till the year 1528, when Mendoza, governor of Ormus, (for in the course of a very few years had the Portuguese established themselves in many important situations in the East) dispatched Anthony Terniec with advices of great importance to the court of Lisbon by the route of Buffora, and the Great Desert. This messenger directed his course to the port of Tripoli in Syria, where he embarked for Italy, from whence he arrived safe in Portugal. Terniec travelled on a dromedary, attended by a single Arab as his protector, rather than his guide, for he shaped his route by a compass. On his return home, his

journey was regarded of so wonderful a nature, that he was followed by crowds of his countrymen, begging of him to relate his adventures, and by what means he had traversed the sandy regions of the Desert. From that time to the present, many adventurers have crossed the Desert in all directions; by which means it is now perfectly known. These travellers have amply gratified our curiosity, and afforded us information on every subject deserving our attention, whether in regard to the commerce, natural history, or the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Amongst the first Europeans who visited India by this route, we find the names of Cæsar Frederick, who went to that country by Aleppo in the year 1561—Peter Teixeira in 1605—Sir Thomas Roe in 1614—Darvieux in 1664. But, above all, we must not omit to make mention of an era in our own history, which should never be forgotten, while we pride ourselves in the event by which we obtained the greatest dominion, added to the most extensive commerce, that has ever been possessed by any nation, or by any country.

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The influx of wealth into the kingdom of Portugal, by means of the trade with the East Indies, having begun to rouse the spirit and enterprize of mercantile adventurers, in the year 1583, our countrymen, John Newberie, Eldred, and Fitch, were, by Queen Elizabeth, dispatched to India, with letters to the Kings of Cambay and China. The object of this expedition was to obtain information on the nature of Indian commerce, and the practicability of opening a trade by the Cape of Good Hope. They visited Agra, Lahor, Bengal, and Malacca, and returned in the year 1591 by Ormus and Syria, and were the first Englishmen that visited India by land. Their account of the wealth, commerce, and abundant resources of the East, were so alluring and flattering to Elizabeth, that she was induced, in the year 1600, towards the close of her reign, to grant the first charter of incorporation, under the great seal of England, to an East-India Company, constituting them sole and exclusive traders to the East Indies. It is scarcely to be credited, that at this period the capital of the Company was only 72,000*l*.

Let this be compared with the present state of that imperial body.

In this place we cannot help remarking the length of time which elapsed before this country enjoyed any share of the trade to India.—The Portuguese, who first visited Calicut under the celebrated Vasquez de Gama, arrived at that place on the 17th of May, 1489; and we find, that in the year 1500 they had established a factory at Calicut, under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral; and that in the year 1502 they had factories at both Cochín and Cannanore. Such was the enterprise and resolution of the Portuguese in maritime affairs at this period, that Diego Botello, in the year 1536, conveyed to John III. King of Portugal, intelligence of the cession of Diéu to Acugna, his Admiral, in a vessel only 22 feet in length, 12 in breadth, and 6 in height. The Island of Diéu was first possessed by the Portuguese in 1515. It is three miles long, and one in breadth. Diéu Head, which is a bold promontory, lies in 69. 52. East Longitude, and 20. 43. North Latitude, and is still retained by the crown of Portugal.

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On the other hand, it does not appear that any attempt was made by the merchants of England till the year 1600, when four ships were fitted out, under the command of James Lancaster, and dispatched to India, with a view to participate in a trade which, from that period to the present day, has been improved with such wonderful perseverance and success as to astonish all Europe, and to render Great Britain the greatest commercial nation in the world : how long this distinction will continue, time alone must determine. In the mean while, it is deserving of attention, that the scenes to which these observations refer, are, at the present crisis, particularly interesting. Whatever may be the particular views of the rulers of France, or rather, perhaps, of that single mind on which the destinies of France and of Europe appear so greatly to turn, there is little doubt that the Turkish empire is on the very verge of dissolution. The enervation of the Sultans, from the period that they ceased to head their armies in person, and shut themselves up in the haram ; the indolence, ignorance, and selfish sensualities of the great officers of state ; the insubordination of the Pachas ;



disaffection of the Provinces; and particularly the state of Greece, indignant of the barbarian yoke, and panting after freedom: all these circumstances announce, to the intelligent observer, the subversion of the Ottoman throne, and that the Eastern empire is soon to become the grand theatre of contention among the predominant powers of Europe. The progress of commerce and colonization has, for three centuries, laid the scenes of contest among rival powers in the wide ocean. But from the never-ceasing vicissitudes of human affairs, the attention of states and sovereign Princes, is about to be drawn in some measure from the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian oceans, to the Mediterranean and the Nile, to the gulfs of Arabia and Persia.

There is a striking affinity to be remarked between the Turkish empire, at the present moment, and that of the Mogul dominion in India, when the governors of provinces and great officers of state began to shake off, which they did by degrees, all dependance on the Emperor. It only remains to be known whether the Greeks and other nations are to recover their liberty by the aid of France and Spain,

or that of Russia, in concert with Great Britain. The fluctuating and uncertain politics of the Directory of France; that versatility which guides their conduct, and their easy and rapid transition from one system of depravity to another, prevents all reasoning on the subject of the war, or forming conclusions from fixed or determinate principles. Sordid and sanguinary, their motives are influenced by selfishness or caprice: and whatever they resolve, is undertaken with a view to enrich and satiate themselves at the expence of every thing dear or valuable. The recent invasion of Egypt exhibits a just picture of the arts which the French nation have hitherto practised, to subjugate, or, in their own language, to organize country, who, from particular circumstances, may be unable to oppose their lawless depredations. Manifestoes have been published, declaring, that their grounds of complaint are not against the Turkish government, but to punish the rebel Beys of Egypt, who have insulted their national flag, imprisoned their merchants, and who have thrown off their dependance on their lawful sovereign. By this ostentatious and no less

delusive manifesto, they engage to become the champions of the Grand Seignior, to fight his battles, punish his rebellious subjects, and declare themselves true Musulmen, and defenders of Islamism. These are the means by which they arrogate powers which never existed, or never can be allowed, either by the law and custom of nations, or human jurisprudence. It is also announced, that by the invasion of Egypt they attack the English and their power in India. Language so novel in the history of nations may possibly be attended to by the parasites of a tottering and enfeebled throne; yet in this case the Turks must have lost all energy of character, and be approaching still nearer to dissolution than we have yet imagined. Allowing this inertia on the part of the Turks, Buonaparte and his army have nevertheless to struggle with insurmountable difficulties; and those are of such a nature as cannot be overcome. Beside the influence of the Beys, the whole strength of the three Arabias will be exerted and drawn to one focus, to hurl destruction on their head. The vicinity of Mecca and Medina, and the jealousy of an European force so near  
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to the tomb of their prophet, and the residence of their High Priest, the Sherreeff of Mecca, will be a powerful stimulus, and a crusade under his banners will commence with all the fury which the zeal and frenzy of religion can inspire. It will become a war of enthusiasm and opinion; where each individual will feel himself interested; every soil will have its Cæsar, and the spirit of Mahomed and the first Caliphs will be regenerated, and the glory of the Saracens will be remembered and imitated. Buonaparte, though in a fertile country, cut off from all communication either by the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, will soon become destitute of every necessary, and be reduced to the humiliating situation in which St. Louis found himself some centuries ago on the banks of the Nile.

In whatever manner the Turks may be inclined to act, the invasion of Egypt will tend more or less to the event which we have already prognosticated. The Arabs will ascertain their strength, and what they are capable of performing; on the other hand, it will expose the imbecility of the Turkish government, and inevitably produce  
a revolt

a revolt throughout their Asiatic provinces, where their power is only nominal, while European Turkey will be left a prey to the Emperors of Russia and Germany: the unhappy Greeks will find deliverers, and be reclaimed from a savage and licentious life, to a rank and estimation in civil order and society. The existence of the Turkish power can neither be accessary or necessary to Britain; on the contrary, the Arabs are the natural guardians of those countries, provinces, and seas which divide Europe from an immediate communication with India. It is their interest to maintain the sovereignty and independence of the deserts of Arabia, of Suez, and of Thebais; and the Arab chiefs, and not the Turks, impose on the trade with the East those restrictions by which the commerce of the East-India Company is strengthened and concentrated. Fortunately for this body, existing circumstances, opinions, and superstition, operate powerfully in their favour, and prove the best and surest bulwark to prevent European nations from opening a commerce by the Red Sea. Tip-poo, although a Mahometan, and a powerful



ful as well as ambitious Prince, has not been able to promote a direct communication with the city of Constantinople and European Turkey. His object was to establish factories at Mocha, and in other ports on the Red Sea, where the commodities of his country might be sold, and where he might have in exchange whatever articles he stood in need of from the European market. Could we allow ourselves for a moment to suppose that it were possible for the French to establish themselves in Egypt, there cannot exist a doubt but that the menacing position which they would assume, would, with such an ally as Tippoo, be extremely unfavourable and even dangerous to the British interests in India. We should be then continually on the watch to guard against their machinations, as the situation of Egypt would enable the French to waft to the shores of India, in less than a month, a numerous body, and kindle the flames of war, which has more than once reduced the treasury and the resources of the Company to the lowest ebb. But we have nothing to apprehend: the Company have the finest and best-appointed army in the world; men who are equal to the defence and protection



tection of British India; and we may console ourselves, while that country is governed by wise and prudent measures, that it may long continue to remain a valuable appendage to our empire.

The Arabs are extremely tenacious and jealous of their trade in the Red Sea, and private intrigue has prevented a general extension of commerce in those parts: the influence of the Sherreeff of Mecca has been particularly exerted, with the view of drawing to his own port of Gedda the whole of the customs, and prevent any participation in the high parts of that sea.

Amongst the first Englishmen that visited Mocha was a Captain Sharpeigh in the *Ascension*. The Pasha of Sanaa, the capital of the province of Yemen, which lies 180 miles N. N. E. from Mocha, disapproved of his coming, and warned him against it in future. The Pashas of Cairo and Suakem, stimulated by the Arabs, and supported by the Sherreeff of Mecca, seized the opportunity of making application to the Grand Seignior; they represented to him that the *Ascension* had purchased all the choice wares of India, to the great diminution  
of

of the customs ; and that if a stop was not put to such practices, it would be the overthrow of trade in those seas. The Grand Seignior, by his Firmaun, commanded the Pasha of Sanaa, that if any more English or other Christians came into those parts, that he should confiscate their ship and goods, and kill or captivate their men. Matters were thus situated when Sir Henry Middleton, on the 13th day of November, 1610, arrived with three ships and a victualler at Mocha, charged with letters from James the First to the Pasha on the subject of commerce. But the Pasha, in place of encouraging trade, seized Sir Henry, and sent him prisoner to Sanaa, from whence he contrived to make his escape on board of his own ship. To obtain satisfaction for the insult, Sir Henry laid the vessels in the harbour of Mocha under embargo. This measure produced apologies on the part of the Pasha, and a sum of money was obtained as an indemnification. We hear nothing more of any attempt to renew this intercourse till Captain Andrew Shilling, in the year 1618, was, in consequence of Sir Thomas Roe's negotiation, sent from Surat to settle the trade at Mocha. These trans-

transactions took place when the Turkish empire was more formidable, and had more authority over their distant dependencies than they have at the present moment. Even in the year 1712 the power of the Grand Seignior over Yemen had so far diminished, that he condescended to send an Ambassador to the King of Yemen, to complain that, because Europeans were allowed to load large ships with coffee, it was become scarce and dear in Turkey, and the customs of the Grand Seignior were hurt by it. The Ambassador used every effort and persuasion in his power to prevent this trade in future, and with a view to divert the same into other channels. The King avoided the demand, was civil to the Ambassador, but dismissed him without his errand.

The interest which the Turks have, or rather wish to possess, in this trade is obvious. The policy which induces the Turks to be aiding and assisting in precluding Europeans from any communication with India by Cairo and the Red Sea, to the total deprivation of European trade in that quarter, is evidently calculated to lay open that commerce to themselves, and to engross all the  
advan-

advantages thereof, which the East-India Company have uniformly endeavoured to prevent. The object of the Turkish empire, is, to close the ports in the Red Sea against all European powers whatsoever; at the same time to have them open for the importation of the manufactures of India, in vessels belonging to the Mussulmen of that country. This trade, with the coffee, gums, and the rich produce of Arabia, would be carried exclusively into European Turkey. Constantinople would become the grand emporium of eastern commerce by the Red Sea. It is the imbecility of the Porte that prevents the completion of a plan so beneficial to the Turkish government, and which would render nugatory and abortive all farther attempts on the part of the East-India Company against it. It is evidently not from political relation, or from any coincidence of mutual and reciprocal interest, that the Turks are induced and so readily inclined to listen to the remonstrances of our Ambassador. It is their inability, and not their inclination, we have to thank. The Arab Sheicks, and not the Pachas, sent by the Porte, have now the control

control on the borders of the Red Sea; it is the interest of the Sherreeff of Mecca, of the King or Imaum of Yemen, and of all the principal and leading men in Arabia to deal with Europeans. By their medium they receive India goods, which are vended in Arabia and Turkey, and on which the Arabs impose heavy duties: these duties by no means flow into the treasures of the Grand Seignior, but, on the contrary, are retained by themselves. The Porte, notwithstanding their inability of dictating to the Arabs, find it to their advantage to assist them, in keeping shut the overland communication; and while they want the power to engross the trade to themselves, still endeavour to prevent the participation of Europeans: for it is better that the Arabs, as a component part of the empire of the Turks, should continue to enjoy the benefit which the trade produces, than that any other nations should deprive them of it. The question therefore is, whether is it for the interest of Great Britain to aggrandize an empire, whose commercial views interfere so much with our own; or, should the

Arabs



Arabs be protected and encouraged as the natural guardians of the barrier between Europe and the East Indies, by the medium of the Desarts, and whose advantage it is, while they permit a free trade in the Red Sea, at the same time to prevent the Port of Suez from being the resort either of European or of Turkish traders for the purpose of conducting commerce with any part of Europe.

The brilliant victory which has been recently obtained by Admiral Nelson over the Toulon Fleet at the mouth of the Nile stands unparalleled in our Naval History : an action so decided, and at the same time, achieved at a moment so critical and perilous, will, it is to be hoped, accelerate the approach of peace. This splendid victory bids fair to open once more the harbours and ports of the Mediterranean to our ships, establish our naval pre-eminence in that quarter, and in some measure restore our trade to the Levant, which has been long usurped by the French nation. It effectually cuts off Buonaparte from every prospect of resource or indeed assistance of any kind from the Directory. It may probably involve the imme-



diate surrender of Malta, and the capture of the ci-devant Venetian islands: and what is of the greatest consequence, it exalts and promotes our weight and consequence in the eyes of maritime nations.

The declaration of war by the Porte against the Directory of France, even though the Divan should enter heartily and zealously into the views and measures of the Allied Powers, will neither avert nor procrastinate the impending fate of the Turkish Empire. The Pashas and Governors of distant provinces will not neglect the advantage arising from a state of affairs so unsettled, wavering, and precarious, and so tempting at once to rapacity and ambition. The coalition of the Russians and the Turks is monstrous and incongruous; and, being merely a temporary expedient, cannot in any way alter the discordant and opposite views of their respective nations.

The interest of Great Britain, on the conclusion of the war, will remain in statu quo, and cannot be affected by any measures which the necessities of the times, and the extraordinary posture of public affairs, may either encourage or compel the Court of  
Russia,

Russia, whose throne is filled by a descendant of the Greek Empire of Byzantium, or the Grand Signior to adopt.

In the midst of this arduous and expensive warfare, in which the political horizon daily wears a new complection, the British Ministry will no doubt bear in mind the claims of this country to a port or ports in the Mediterranean. Now is the moment when a permanent establishment should be effected; and the Island of Candia at once presents itself as the object of our choice. Such is the state of the Turkish Empire, that the Porte would readily cede this valuable and important island to the Crown of Britain.

It would appear that the French, like other reformers, have attempted to make religion subservient to their purpose, and to become accessory in some measure to ambition and plunder. The shrine of the Prophet, the Chapel of Loretto, the Pope, the Sherreeff of Mecca, and the Lama, are equally respected. I heard of a new religion while I was in Arabia, which had been recently established, and what was most extraordinary, in the vicinity of Mecca: but the

doctrines which it inculcated had not spread beyond the bounds of a particular family, and it was by no means likely to become general, or to extend over a country where prejudice and enthusiasm are so strongly rooted, and innovation so dangerous, and where the passions of the inhabitants and the influence of climate tend equally to support and promote the precepts of Mahomet. The destiny of Buonaparte is fixed; and although the splendour of his former days may hereafter illumine the page of history, his expedition to Egypt will be recorded as an act of extravagance and folly.

## TRAVELS,

*&c. &c.*

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THE particular situation of my private concerns requiring immediate attendance in India, and no opportunity of a sea conveyance by any eligible mode offering at this season of the year, I judged it most advisable to undertake an over-land journey. Early in the month of August I addressed the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, acquainting them, that in consequence of their permission, previously obtained, I was in readiness to set out for India on the shortest notice, and requested to be entrusted with the care of dispatches to their presidencies abroad. The Court having granted my request, on the 21st of August, 1789, in the afternoon, I received from the Deputy Secretary a packet

for Bombay, covering others for Bengal and Fort St. George, for which a receipt was taken in the usual form. Some letters of consequence from the Board of Control not being ready, I was detained till the next morning.

At 10 A. M. of the 22d, I left London, accompanied by Mr. Adam Blackader, a surgeon on the Madras establishment, who had the Company's permission to return to his station over-land; a friend, who proposed to accompany us to Venice; and Mrs. Taylor, whose intention was to return back from the last-mentioned place.

Our equipment for this journey consisted of a strong travelling coach, completely fitted up. We laid in a large stock of portable soup, curry stuff, and some good tea. The two former articles are of the greatest use in many situations, particularly on the Desert, and the last is a thing never to be procured, even at any price.—Coffee is to be had every where, and consequently unnecessary to be provided beforehand. Mr. Blackader and myself were severally provided with a gun and a pair of pistols,

tols, both plainly mounted, with the necessary apparatus, twelve shifts of linen, one coat, a few pair of shoes and stockings, and a pair of boots.

We judged it useful, as we afterwards found, not to neglect a small medicine box, containing the most necessary articles in the profession of physic and surgery. We procured the best maps of the country through which we were to pass, with a road book by Duten, descriptive of the situation, soil, and produce of each district, population, curiosities, &c. &c.; a compass by Dolland, a spy glass, a thermometer, and some phosphorus matches hermetically sealed, to which I regret not having added a small sextant. These articles were put up in a small compass, which was afterwards reduced to a trunk for each person, independent of our bedding.

We had two servants, one a native of Bengal, and but of little use; the other a native of Italy, who understood French and German; he was beside a hair-dresser, valet-de-chambre, courier, taylor, cook, and purveyor for the party, willing to employ his talents in each capacity, as by turns they became necessary.



On our arrival in the evening at Dover, we were informed by the master of the packet boat, that the tide would answer about one in the morning. Determined to spend the last evening in Old England as happily as we could, a good supper was ordered, and we continued our libations till we were told it was time to embark.

The disturbances in France rendered our passage through that country precarious, if not dangerous, particularly being in charge of public papers; for besides the Company's packet, there were others of considerable import. The banditti were in full possession of the road, particularly to Marseilles; and the affair of the Brest plot, with the sudden departure of our Ambassador, the Duke of Dorset, from Paris, and some other concomitant circumstances, rendered the name of an Englishman rather unpopular. These considerations induced me to determine on the route through Germany, as being less liable to either insult or delay.

In this situation Ostend was the port I determined to make; the freight thither was settled at ten guineas for the passengers, and two guineas for the carriage. A stock of provisions  
and

and wine, sufficient for three days, being laid in at our own expence, we set sail, with a fair wind, for the Continent of Europe, leaving behind the chalky cliffs, so well described by the pen of our immortal Shakespeare :

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How fearful

And dizzy 'tis to cast our eyes so low !

The crows and choughs that wing the midway air

Shew scarce so gross as beetles : half way down

Hangs one that gathers samphire ;—dreadful trade !

Methinks he seems no bigger than his head ;

The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,

Appear like mice ; and yon tall anchoring bark,

Diminish'd to her cock ; her cock a buoy,

Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge,

That on the unnumber'd idle pebbles chafes,

Cannot be heard so high.—I'll look no more,

Left my brain turn, and the deficient sight

Topple down headlong.

The accommodation on board these packets are exceedingly good ; they are fitted up in a particular style of neatness ; the beds are clean, and every thing carries the appearance of comfort. The sea was smooth, and left us quietly to enjoy our nap. Although we embarked at one A. M. of the 23d, such was our bad luck, that by a shift of wind

we

we were prevented from reaching Ostend till late next evening. On our arrival at the Hotel de la Cour Imperial, kept by an Englishman, we found that the carriage had sustained some damage in the embarkation. It was also necessary to have our baggage examined at the custom-house. A passport was absolutely requisite: neither did the post-master seem inclined to give us horses, had every thing else been in train. Necessity obliged us to take up our abode for the night: in the morning (but not till near eleven o'clock) we had our trunks examined very civilly by the custom-house officers, who, for a trifling gratuity, did not insist on tumbling about our small quantity of baggage, or of exposing it to the crowd. Our trunks were now plumbé, and our passport delivered.—Here let me caution travellers to be careful in this respect. If their baggage be sealed in this manner, it is sure of passing unmolested through all the Emperor's dominions, and the same in France; that is, till such time as you have occasion to open your baggage, which may not be for some days, and then the same thing is renewed: the operation is merely fastening a piece of lead

lead with the custom-house stamp in such a manner, that your baggage cannot be opened without cutting the string to which the seal is attached.

With two German postillions, and four bad horses, preceded by our courier, we left Ostend at half past eleven, and took the road to Bruges.—The pens of many travellers having been employed, with sufficient industry and circumstantiality in describing the different countries traversed in our route, I shall satisfy myself with merely detailing the names of places, with the distance of the stages, and the time on the road; and with adding a few observations that I judge either interesting or necessary for the guidance of future travellers.

# MAJOR TAYLOR'S ROUTE

FROM

## LONDON TO VENICE,

IN AUGUST, 1789.

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IN time of peace travellers may go from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, and from thence by the Moordyke and Antwerp to Mechlen, by water; from whence to Lovain it is only two posts; or from Flushing in the same manner. There is a canal from Ostend to Brussels for those who may choose that route. Travelling by water is remarkably cheap, and very commodious, all through the Low Countries, and in the summer season it is extremely pleasant. The traveller has by this mode the best means of mixing  
and

and becoming acquainted with the disposition and manners of the people of the country through which he passes: a circumstance which cannot fail of being approved by the lovers of pure un sullied nature. You have besides an opportunity of viewing the country as you glide gently along, of reading and conversing at pleasure, or of making your remarks as objects worthy of attention may occur.

There is no necessity for a traveller's mixing with the lowest classes of the people; on the contrary, you may hire the roof or best cabin, where you exclude all other passengers, and associate or not with them, according to circumstances or inclination. This mode of travelling is convenient in regard to baggage: it is not rubbed to pieces, as is always the case in posting; and you have porters and men with hand-barrows ready on the arrival of the *Traekschuyt* to convey the baggage wherever you order it. All this may be performed at a very moderate expence, although it cannot be recommended for expedition.



*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts	Time on road		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
From London to							
1 Dover - -	72	0		10	0		
2 Ostend, by water						18	30
3 Bruges - -	12	0	2	3	30	0	30
4 Alter - - -	12	0	2	3	0	0	5
5 Ghent - - -	13	0	2	2	25	1	10
6 Quadright - -	6	0	1	1	10	0	10
7 Aloft - - -	9	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	0	0	10
8 Asche - - -	8	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	30	0	12
9 Brussels - -	9	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	38	5	30
10 Cortenberg -	10	0	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	1	30	0	41
11 Lovain - - -	8	0	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	1	11	1	0
12 Tirlemont -	10	0	2 $\frac{3}{3}$	1	55	0	11
13 St. Tron - -	12	0	2	2	24	8	40
14 Hores - - -	10	0	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	2	0	0	10
15 Liege - - -	10	0	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	2	50	1	0
16 La Batife - -	12	0	2	4	5	2	25
	213	0					

*Remarks.*

1. Went to the York hotel at Dover.
2. Good accommodation at the Hotel de la Cour Imperial.
3. At the post-house good accommodation.
4. No accommodation to be had.
5. Very good accommodation at the post. There is a canal from hence to Ostend, with convenient boats.—On the Scheld.
6. Bad accommodation.
7. Bad accommodation.—On the Dender.
8. Good accommodation at the post-house.
9. Excellent at the Hotel d'Angleterre—ilept and breakfasted—the roads from Ostend to this place are well paved, the country level, and affording but little variety. The neighbourhood of Brussels is most delightful.
10. No accommodation of any kind.
11. Pretty good at the post—delayed from want of cattle.
12. Good accommodation at the post.
13. At the post the accommodation is bad; there is, however, a tolerable hotel in the town. We here experienced a great delay from want of horses: none procurable before two in the morning.
14. Hores is a dirty village, where you will find no accommodation. Between this stage and the preceding, St. Tron, you quit the Low Countries, and enter Germany. You lose the Pavé after some distance from Brussels, and the road becomes worse.
15. The post-house is out of the town, a poor house; there are plenty of commodious hotels within the gates. Crossed the Meuse.
16. A new and a good inn; the stage to this place is exceedingly steep and bad road; horses and driving bad—here another delay; not a horse to be had for several hours.

*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts	Time on road		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
17 Aix-la-Chapelle	213 15	0 0	2	4	30	14	0
18 Juliers - -	15	0	1½	4	0	1	0
19 Berchem - -	10	0	1	2	50	0	15
20 Cologne - -	15	0	1½	4	35	6	10
21 Bonn - - -	16	3	1½	3	40	0	35
22 Remmagan -	13	2	1	3	5	4	40
23 Andernack -	13	1	1½	3	40	8	10
	310	6					

*Remarks.*

17. In consequence of the great resort to this place, a traveller has a right to expect the best accommodation. We were here within a short distance of Spa, but through very deep roads. The approach to Aix-la-Chapelle, for four miles, is unspeakably bad, being mountainous, with heavy sand; the country about overgrown with bushes, and extremely wild in appearance—halted all night to procure cash from the banker.
18. Indifferent accommodation. No horses—complained to the Commandant, who assured us we should have the first that came in.
19. A dirty village—nothing good to be had here.
20. At the Ville de Prague tolerable; arriving just before the gates shut, obliged to remain till five next morning; slept in our clothes.
21. Good accommodation.—The last stage along the banks of the Rhine to the town; the country beautiful, with pleasant villages on the side of the river—halted till the horses fed.
22. A dirty, mean place; no accommodation. Here we were informed that the fair at Franckfort prevented our getting horses; and although we arrived at one o'clock, we were detained till within twenty minutes of six at a wretched public-house—bad victuals and four wine, with abundance of imposition—at last no horses for the servants—the driving bad.
23. A very comfortable post-house. The last stage, notwithstanding every inconvenience, proved the most pleasing one we had experienced. The Rhine confined between the hills, with neat houses close on the river; the vineyards extended on the sides of the mountains, and an excellent road keeping the

*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts	Time on road.		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
	310	6					
24 Coblentz - -	13	6	1	2	40	0	30
25 Naffau - -	15	0	1½	2	50	1	0
26 Narstetin - -	12	0	1	3	0	0	15
27 Swalback - -	11	0	1	2	30	7	15
28 Wisbad - -	13	0	1	3	30	1	55
29 Mayence - -	15	0	1½	1	25	1	0
30 Oppenheim -	12	0	1	3	0	0	25
31 Worms - -	15	4	1	3	45	2	30
	418	0					

*Remarks.*

- exact direction of the stream, added to the romantic beauty of the country. Our host, under various pretences, delayed our departure till morning, pleading the gates being shut, and that horses were not procurable; but to make amends, he gave us some of the best wine we had yet tasted.
24. Good accommodation—on the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle, passed the former on a pont volant.
25. Poor and ill built—no accommodation.—This stage, we were under the necessity of taking six horses, the road being extremely steep and mountainous. At two leagues from Coblenz passed the hot baths of Embs, which belongs to the Prince of Orange. No horses.
26. Very bad accommodation.—The last stage six horses half way only.—A little out of Nassau crossed the Lahn in a flat-bottomed boat.
27. A poor, ill-built village, with bad accommodation—no horses till three in the morning; obliged to sleep in our clothes in wretched beds; set out with six horses, on account of the bad road.—Hot mineral baths.
28. Good accommodation.—Warm baths.—No horses to be procured.
29. Good accommodation.—Large, spacious city, but narrow streets.—Crossed the Rhine to the town over a handsome bridge of boats.
30. Bad accommodation—the town steep, ill-built, and dirty.—On the Rhine.
31. At the post an elegant hotel. We arrived here with our horses jaded, having brought them on two stages, halting nearly an hour at Oppenheim to refresh them. On coming to the post at half past six



*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts	Time on road		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
	418	0					
32 Mannheim - -	13	4	1	4	0	10	0
33 Schewtzingen	10	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	30	3	15
34 Waughaufl -	12	0	1	2	0	0	15
35 Craben - -	16	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	45	0	45
36 Carlsrhue - -	16	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	55	0	45
	485	4					

*Remarks.*

P. M. we discovered a scheme to detain us all night for the benefit of the house; with much trouble we got horses at nine, but too late, as the post-master well knew, to gain admittance into Mannheim: we were, therefore, obliged to sleep in the carriage, under a very heavy rain, at a small village within three miles of that place, where we changed horses, and at five o'clock crossed a very handsome bridge of boats to Mannheim.—On the Rhine.

32. Elegant accommodations, with excellent wine, especially Burgundy and Tokay—filled a basket with cold victuals, and some of the best wine; having business to transact with the banker, halted ten hours.—On the Rhine and Neckar.
33. A neat little inn, where we dined very comfortably.—Last stage the iron-work which supported the hind spring of the carriage gave way—had it repaired.—The post a single house—bad accommodation.
34. A dirty village; bad accommodation.—The postillion at Waughausil by some mistake took the wrong road, and carried us considerably out of the way: the nearest and best is as follows.

Waughausil

Bruschal . . . . 1 Post

Kentlingen . . . .  $1\frac{1}{2}$  do.

Gutzwingen . . . .  $1\frac{1}{2}$  do.

Constat . . . .  $1\frac{1}{2}$  do.

35. At Craben the mistake was discovered, but too late to return, and after much altercation I procured from the post-master the nearest route—travelling all night.
36. The post but indifferent.—Obliged to hire a chaise for the servants.

*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts.	Time on road.		Delays.	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
	485	4					
37. Pforzheim -	18	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	35	1	20
38. Enbzingen	15	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	10	0	30
39. Constatt - -	14	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	54	0	51
40. Blockingen -	14	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	30	0	27
41. Geoppingen -	12	2	1	2	6	0	32
42. Guillingen -	12	1	1	3	0	6	55
43. Westerstetten	12	5	1	2	15	0	30
44. Ulm - - -	10	4	1	1	50	0	10
45. Illertiffen -	15	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	45	0	30
46. Mimmingen -	16	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	50	0	30
47. Eicholz - -	13	0	1	2	20	0	35
48. Kempton -	11	0	1	2	5	6	50
49. Kempterwald	7	7	1	1	40	0	10
50. Weißbach -	9	1	1	2	0	0	25
	666	1					

*Remarks.*

37. Tolerably good at the post.—Tedious road.
38. The post scarcely tolerable—Nothing better to be had.
39. Tolerable accommodation.
40. The inns are poor, and accommodation but indifferent.
41. Neat accommodation—A small village.
42. Decent accommodation in a very indifferent village—Slept in our clothes.
43. Single house, very good—horses excellent.
44. Good accommodation; good drivers and horses.—The Danube, which we crossed at Ulm, is here an inconsiderable stream, but very rapid.—The Danube is not navigable much higher than this place.
45. Bad.—Pretty country.—Good horses and driving.
46. Good.—A neat little fortified town, remarkably clean.
47. A single house, very handsome.—This part of the country extremely pleasant, with good roads, particularly here, where they are not inferior to that of Bath—the clumps of trees and the distant view of the Alps affording a pleasing prospect; the people here understand Italian, and speak it a little.
48. Accommodation very indifferent at the post.—This place is famous for a large and handsome abbey—being fatigued, remained all night. Stands on the river Iller.
49. The post a single house; very good. An easy ascent from Kempton.
50. No accommodation—road good amongst hills.—The post-master here can save a traveller something in point of distance, by sending him a near road

*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts.	Time on road.		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
	666	1					
51. Fuesen - -	12	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	30	0	25
52. Reita - -	8	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	41	1	0
53. Lermes - -	11	0	1	2	24	0	11
54. Nazareth -	10	2	1	2	10	0	55
55. Barewis -	8	2	1	2	0	0	50
56. Inspruck -	8	4	1	2	30	9	20
57. Dirftenbach -	11	2	1	3	5	0	35
	736	2					

*Remarks.*

direct to Lermes, and thereby avoiding Fuesen ; but in this case you must pay a guilder a horse to the post-master of that place, and in doing so you save both money and distance.

51. Poor accommodation.—A romantic situation ; an old castle, water-fall, surrounding hills, and a covered bridge, which is frequently met with in the Tyrol ; the river Leck runs past, and near to the bottom of the Alps : the bridges being of wood, are covered, to preserve them from the rain.
52. The post good, and neat.—Five miles from Fuesen, which is nearly the commencement of the Tyrol, you begin to ascend the Alps, and soon after pass the little fort of Nubas, which formerly was garrisoned, but since the war between the Emperor and the Turks the garrison of Nubas, as well as all the other small forts on the Alps, are withdrawn : they are built in situations to command the most difficult passes.—Reita stands also on the river Leck.
53. Good accommodations.—Close by the river Loyfa, between Reita and Lermes, passed through the castle of Ehrenburg, but which contained no troops.
54. But indifferent accommodation.—The road being very dangerous next stage, drank tea whilst the moon was getting up.
55. The post a single house, with good accommodation.
56. Excellent inns—No horses. Count Potocki, the Polish Ambassador to the Porte, having gone on a short time before we arrived, obliged to wait the return of the horses, along with many other travellers, the Count's suite being nearly one hundred people.—On the river Inn.
57. Bad accommodation.

58. Post



*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles		Posts.	Time on road.		Delay.	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	H.
56. Schonberg -	736 7	2 2	1	2	25	0	17
59. Steinach - -	8	1	1	1	58	0	50
60. Brenner - -	6	5	1	2	15	0	35
61. Storzigen - -	9	5	1	1	30	0	50
62. Mittewald - -	9	7	1	2	40	0	15
63. Brixen - -	7	7	1	2	10	0	20
64. Colman - -	11	1	1	2	26	0	10
65. Teutschchen -	6	3	1	1	15	0	30
66 Bolzano - -	7	6	1	1	45	2	0
67. Branzol - -	8	0	1	1	30	0	20
68. Engha - -	7	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	28	0	10
69. Salone - -	7	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	22	0	10
70. Lavis - -	9	0	1	2	0	0	15
71. Trent - -	8	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	5	10	35
72. Befine - -	9	0	1	1	20	0	25
73 and 74. Rovedo and Ala -	18	0	2	5	25	0	30
75. Bery - -	11	0	1	3	30	0	10
	887	7					

*Remarks.*

58. Post a single house ; bad accommodation.—Came this stage with six horses ; ascent all the way.
59. Good accommodation—A small village.
60. Post a single house ; no accommodation—the road narrow and confined, but tolerably good.
61. Bad accommodation.
62. The post bad—A small village ; road good ; descent from the last stage.
63. Tolerable accommodation.—On the confluence of the Runtz and Eifoch.
64. The post a single house, without accommodation for travellers—the road along the Sill.
65. The post a single house ; no accommodation—road a narrow descent along the Sill.
66. Dined at the Sun, an excellent house—Vineyards in high order. This town is remarkably clean and neat.
67. Bad accommodation.—Here the country begins to open.
68. No accommodation.
69. No accommodation.—Road good.—No horses ; obliged to wait the most part of the night in the carriage.
70. No accommodation.
71. Good accommodation.—No horses.—Changed our route for the better, taking the low road to Venice in place of the hilly one by the way of Balsano.
72. No accommodation.—The road pretty good along the Adige.
73. and 74. Changed horses at Roveredo, without getting out of the carriage, and arrived at Ala, where, after putting to the horses, we proceeded on.
75. Accommodation not good.

76. Indifferent

*Route from London to Venice.*

STAGES.	Engl. miles.		Posts.	Time on road.		Delays	
	M.	F.		H.	M.	H.	M.
76. Volarni - -	887	7	1				
	9	1	1	1	11	0	20
77. Verona - -	12	7	1	1	29	0	40
78. Caldeiro - -	8	6	1	0	30	0	10
79. Montibello -	12	0	1½	3	5	1	15
80. Vicenza - -	10	6	1	1	35	0	10
81. Slesiga - -	10	7	1	1	45	0	8
82. Padua - -	10	0	1	1	7	3	15
83. Dolo - -	10	0	1	10	0	0	0
84. Fufina - -	9	0	1				
Venice across the Lagune }	5	0	1				
Total by land -	986	2					
Add the distance by sea from Do- ver to Ostend 22 leagues is - -	66	0					
Total distance from London to Venice - -	1052	2					

*Remarks.*

- 76. Indifferent accommodation.—Halted twenty minutes.
- 77. Excellent inns—breakfasted.—On the Adige.
- 78. Indifferent accommodation—Fine roads, good horses and drivers.
- 79. Bad accommodation—a little place.—On the way thither broke down; halted and repaired.
- 80. Good accommodation, and excellent roads, with great expedition.
- 81. No accommodation.—Roads good.
- 82. The Aquila d'Oro an excellent inn, where we supped.—On the Brenta.
- 83. Down the river Brenta in a covered boat, and crossed the Lagune to Venice, which took us ten hours from Padua: I apprehend, from our leaving Padua at night, that the boatmen were not very active, and that it may be done in much less time. There are a few inconsiderable locks on the river, if it may be termed so, having more the appearance of a mud ditch:—By land from Padua to Dolo is ten English miles; from thence to Fusina the same distance; Fusina being situated where the Brenta debouchés into the Lagune, you must take a small boat to carry you across to Venice, which is distant about four or five miles.

As the hasty manner in which we travelled left but little time for observation, I shall only take notice of those scenes which, in the course of the journey, appeared to me the most striking and worthy of remembrance. The inquisitive traveller will be able to procure the best books descriptive of the town and countries through which his route may conduct him at all the principal cities in Germany and Italy, where he may also provide himself with the most correct maps of the respective states of which they are the capital: on these authorities he can better rely than the information afforded by modern tourists.

The majestic flow and beautiful scenery of the Rhine must ever claim the attention of a traveller. This noble river takes its rise in the country of the Grisons, and empties itself into the sea below Leyden. On its variegated banks are situated some of the finest cities Germany has to boast of; and we must ever regard with admiration the bridges of boats so frequently met with on this delightful stream. The Pont Volant at Coblenz, constructed to receive with ease a coach and six horses completely harnessed, and by one movement

movement transported to the opposite shore, is also worthy of remark.

The port from Remmagan to Andernack, along the banks of the Rhine, is particularly striking: as we approached the town by moonlight, nothing could exceed the picturesque appearance of its ancient fortifications, and instantly recalled to memory the idea of a certain kind of scene painting, where the rising moon discovers the battlements of an ancient fortress, probably the residence of some captive fair; and in this comparison there is some analogy, at least in point of beauty, for the daughters of our host were the prettiest girls I saw in Germany: I really believe their charms, joined to the father's difficulties and obstacles already mentioned, proved a strong incitement to my companions consenting so readily to remain all night.

The town of Manheim, the elegant residence of the Elector Palatine on the confluence of the Rhine and Neckar, demands our notice; the regularity of its streets, the grandeur of its public, and the neatness and uniformity of its private buildings; the strength of its fortifications, and advantages from nature in point of situation, with its elegant



elegant bridge of boats, contribute at once to its salubrity and beauty.

The baths of Embs, two leagues beyond Nassau, belong equally to the Houses of Orange and Hesse Darmstadt. The company who came here are lodged chiefly in the old palace belonging to the latter. We halted only a few minutes, during which time we were supplied with a pamphlet descriptive of the place, and the virtues of its waters. Swallback and Wisbaden have likewise mineral springs, but I did not find that they were much frequented, excepting by those whose finances would not permit their visiting the more fashionable resorts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa. I cannot entirely pass over the grand and striking beauties of the Alps, whose lofty summits rise in majestic grandeur to the sky. For some stages previous to our arrival at Fuesen we had an easy ascent: five miles beyond this place we began to encounter the Alps through a narrow and rugged road to Reita. We found great improvements going on in this respect, the way in some places being extremely dangerous, particularly on your way to Naza-reith. Near to this place, on your left,  
stands

stands the Veersteen fort, and the lake Segmundsburg, remarkable for its situation. The tops of the Alps were covered with snow; but their narrow confined valleys, inhabited by an industrious people, appeared in the highest cultivation. It is with astonishing care they collect their hay from the sides of the mountains, from small patches scarcely accessible to their native goats, and forming a kind of sloping terraces to their very summit. Thinly scattered we perceived the solitary mansions of these poor but happy people; and here and there a humble steeple reminded us, on the bosom of those wild and tremendous mountains, that we were still in a Christian land.

In passing the castle of Ehrenberg the memory of the great Charles the Fifth recurred to my mind, and the fatal effects, occasioned by the Protestant confederacy, being illegally and unjustifiably put under the ban of the empire by that monarch. This castle was seized in the year 1546 by the famous Sebastian Schertel, who commanded a body of troops raised by the imperial city of Augsburg in support of the confederacy, with a view to prevent the Pope's forces from pe-

netrating into Germany, and joining the Emperor. This experienced officer would have rendered essential services, had not the orders of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse directed his retreat; on which the Italians gained possession of the defiles, and amongst others retook from Schertel's garrison the fortress of Ehrenberg.

The material consequence of this castle consists in its defending the entrance of the Tyrolese, and being a strong barrier between Italy and Germany. Maurice of Saxony got possession of it in the year 1552, at the time he so nearly surprised Charles the Fifth at Inspruck; and if it had not been for the mutiny of a mercenary corps, that monarch would have been reduced to the mortifying state to which he subjected Francis after the battle of Pavia, and so recently the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. He fled with his ministers precipitately from Inspruck, leaving his baggage to be plundered by the soldiers of his successful opponent\*.

\* Robertson's History, vol. iv.

Between Volarni and Berry the road lies in one part along the side of a steep mountain, extremely dangerous for carriages, with a river immediately under, without any wall to prevent the most dreadful consequences, should the horses take fright, or your conveyance by any means be thrown off the road. We passed this defile in the middle of the night, attended by heavy rain and severe flashes of lightning, with loud claps of thunder, which served to heighten the terror of the scene. We were met by above fifty poor wretches on our approaching the mountain; but as it seemed doubtful whether they did not intend something very different from assistance, we prepared accordingly. We afterwards found, by their great complaisance, that their intention was, to support the carriage from any accident of tumbling over the precipice, by supporting the off wheels with their shoulders; and that they had assembled in such numbers waiting the arrival of the Count d'Artois, hourly expected in Italy. A little money at a barrier or arched gateway, at the end of the pass, which was opened to us, eased us of their importunity; and indeed a stratagem of my servant's, who

rode courier, was of considerable use. The first party of those people that we met asked him if he belonged to the Count's suit: he answered in the affirmative, and that the Count's carriage was in the rear; consequently the first carriage was allowed to pass under an easy escort, and at an easy expence.

At Volarni the post-master detained us some time from the want of a bulletin, which signifies a permission from the state through which you pass to procure post horses at an easier rate than if you travelled without such permission. This is easily obtained by your banker at any of the principal towns, and entitles you to some consideration. We strongly insisted that the application was made and obtained at Venice, and the post-master at last gave up the point.

In travelling through Germany and the Tyrolese, a traveller meets with toll-bars very frequently, which occasions some detention, unless his courier perfectly understands the intricacies of the German coins. In the Tyrol a general passport is sometimes given, upon payment of a certain sum, which is by far the best method. The variety of money met with on the road is perplexing. Books  
are,

are, however, easily procured at the large towns, ascertaining the value of all coins used in Germany : every petty prince claims the privilege of coining his own money.

The living on the road is in general but indifferent, and I would advise travellers, when they met with good wine, to be particularly careful in laying in a stock for two or three days, as it is not always to be met with ; on the contrary, you are often supplied at inns, decent to appearance, with poor wines, and sometimes even four. As to Burgundy or Bourdeaux, it is hardly ever to be had good ; the wine of the Rhine is that alone on which you can depend. It was much our custom to have a basket with wine and cold meat in the carriage ; by which means we consulted our appetites, and not the formality of hours. Indeed, had we not done so, accommodation would have frequently been wanting, and we should have suffered the inconvenience of hunger for a long stage, or perhaps two. In the article of bedding, if you do not carry your own, nicety must not be looked for ; but indeed the carriage, with good blankets, is, in my opinion, preferable to most German beds you meet with



on the road. Should the traveller have time to make it convenient, by remaining all night at large towns, the case is different, and the only exception is the sheets being damp, and the mattresses not very clean; but the rooms are spacious, the beds roomy and agreeable to the eye. After all the little disagreements that a traveller experiences, especially an Englishman, he must surely be amply repaid by the variety and novelty of the scene; and even in so long a journey, should nothing more pleasing than the city of Venice present itself, I should think it a sufficient compensation for all the difficulties encountered by any traveller.

Venice, as you approach it from the Lagoon or Salt Lake, on which it stands, fills the mind with wonder and respect. It appears the mistress of the surrounding waters, and the emporium of the world, rising, as it were, from the bosom of the ocean, while every moment as you draw nearer to this magnificent city adds to your astonishment. Its palaces, arsenal, paintings, and sculpture, have all been described; and I shall only add, that I must place the view of the city of Venice, and its surrounding dependencies,  
from

from the top of St. Mark's steeple, 300 feet from the elevation of the water, as the finest sight I ever beheld.

It will be observed, that our great ground of complaint during this journey was the delay occasioned from the want of horses, the post-masters frequently not keeping up their proper number, or else employing them at their farms or other drudgery; as also from the badness of the roads at some times, and the bad driving of the German postillions, whom neither money nor menaces can rouse from their lethargy. In Italy the drivers are much more alert, and approach nearer in every respect to those of England. The harness all through both Germany and Italy is infamously bad, frequently nothing better than common rope, and often of untanned leather, so rotten that you are continually apprehensive of something giving way; and your temper is much tried by the tedious repairs of your phlegmatic guide, who dismounts to adjust this harness with the solemnity of a senator. From this fact it is necessary to have harness for four or even six horses, especially with a coach, as you are sometimes obliged, in long stages, and where

the roads are bad, to take that number. Good English saddles for your servants will enable them to continue on horseback much longer than if they were supplied with the vile uneasy German ones. Afterwards they will be found particularly useful, should a traveller prefer the Great Desert, as they are much more pleasant than the saddles procured in Syria, and withal much cooler in warm weather. The lightness, and at the same time the strength of your carriage, is a circumstance to be considered in travelling through Germany: were these properties united in a post-chaise, I should prefer it to any other conveyance, whether English or foreign.

The want of horses constitutes, as I have already said, a great grievance, and is a convincing proof of the bad effects of monopolies. No person in the town or village but the post-master dares to give you horses, unless with his permission; and for this exclusive right the Emperor receives a handsome duty, to the great annoyance of travellers, particularly of those who come to spend their money abroad, and who, besides delays, experience great inconvenience in being frequently obliged to halt at dirty inns without accom-

modation

modation of any kind. To an English traveller nothing can be more disgusting. For these delays there is no redress. I attempted at Juliers to complain to the Commandant, in whose hands I was told the authority lay: he acquainted me that I should be supplied with the first horses that arrived, allowing them half an hour to eat their corn. But this was nothing to what we suffered at Wisbad, a place famous for its hot baths. On our arrival we were told the horses would be immediately put to; but, to our utter mortification, before that happened, the diligence came in, swept the stable of every horse, and left us moping in the carriage to contemplate the miseries of human life in the figure of every invalid, as they crawled from their quarters to walk in the garden, or to use the medicinal waters of this place at an early hour in the morning. The post-master, seeing us determined not to alight, procured us horses taken from his hay-cart, after a detention of one hour and fifty-five minutes.

These and similar delays occasioned, I may assert, our being two days longer on the road than

than we should otherwise have been: there were, however, some circumstances in favour of the post-masters:—the great demand for horses to transport the French refugees, the revolution at Liege, and the annual fair at Franckfort, contributed considerably to the scarcity. For two days we experienced a hardship from Count George Potocki, the Ambassador from the republic of Poland to the Porte, having with a suite of nearly one hundred people got before us on the road, taking all the post-horses, and obliging our party to wait their return, or what was equally unpleasant, to harness his jaded cattle. At Trent, to put a stop to the like inconvenience, we changed our route, and arrived in Venice nearly twenty-four hours before the Count. I mention these trivial matters only to put a traveller on his guard, and to advise him to lay in a stock of patience as a very necessary article for the journey.

It sometimes happens that you arrive late in the garrison towns, and that between the time of your arrival and departure the gates are shut; in this case, patience must be called in to wait the opening of the gate at day-break :

break: this circumstance happened only twice: once at Cologne, where we intended to stop a few minutes to refresh, but were obliged to remain till five next morning, sleeping in our clothes till that hour again; and at Andernach.

Having mentioned the revolution at Liege, I cannot help expressing the joy afforded me by this dawning of Liberty, that truest blessing of mankind, the spontaneous growth of our native soil. May it continue to flourish without licentiousness, and without that sanguinary tendency which, during the revolution in France, has for ever stained its annals with irreparable infamy and reproach! Previously to our getting to Liege, we found the inhabitants of the country wearing the cockade of Liberty, and on our arrival at the gate we were under the necessity of evincing our satisfaction by purchasing cockades for ourselves and servants, and fixing them in our hats. The gate was guarded by armed citizens, who received us under fixed bayonets: we were very civilly conducted to the post-house, on the other side of the town. The post-master during breakfast informed us, that all the military had



had been expelled, and the town was entirely guarded by the citizens: many of the principal inhabitants, to avoid the precarious and uncertain result of tumultuous proceedings, had left the place; but the Prince Bishop still remained at his palace, about three miles distant from the city. This revolution has been followed up by many others: Europe has been ravaged by contending armies, and all the horrors and miseries of war have been experienced by the devoted inhabitants of those countries where the spirit of republicanism and organization has gone abroad. The sword is yet drawn: neither is there the least probability or even a possibility that Europe, the most civilised quarter of the globe, can exist under the system of terror and aggrandizement which now threatens the overthrow of every established government, or even that the French people will themselves permit it.

We were accommodated at the *Ils Tres Res* very expensively, though not the best tavern in the place. *Petrillo's* is esteemed the most fashionable, and consequently the most approved; but Count Potocki had previously engaged every room in the house.

Both

Both these houses are on the Grand Canal, and which is by far the best situation in the city.

September 9th, 1789. Soon after our arrival I waited on Mr. Ritchie, the English Consul and Chargé des Affaires, in absence of Mr. Stranger the Resident at that place. To that gentleman I delivered my letters, and acquainted him, that having charge of packets to India, it was my wish to prosecute the journey with all possible dispatch, and requested his assistance. Mr. Ritchie's state of health not permitting of great personal exertions, he informed me that his Deputy, Mr. Watson, would transact the business to my satisfaction.

September 10th. Mr. Watson waited on us next morning to breakfast. After extolling his abilities and services to the Company in the course of last war in forwarding dispatches, he informed me, there were few or no vessels at that season bound for the Levant: had we arrived, he said, a month earlier, there was plenty of opportunities, to Cyprus or Alexandria procurable on easy terms: however, that he would go on the Exchange, and do the best; but he advised our being silent regarding our intentions of proceeding

ceeding to the Eastward; adding, that any intimation of that kind would considerably enhance the price of a passage. On the recommendation of Mr. Ritchie, we implicitly relied on this man in every particular, and expected soon to hear from him.

Sept. 11th. Although we were extremely anxious, we saw nothing of him till the next day, when we were told, his endeavours had not been successful, from the large sums asked for the trip; that, however, he had a person in his eye, who, he doubted not, would treat with him on more reasonable terms. Disliking this delay, I could not avoid consulting the banker, Mr. Martin, on our intended journey: he advised our proceeding to Patras in the Gulf of Lepanto, and by the Morea to Constantinople by land, and from thence to Aleppo; at the same time promising to look after a vessel.

When we saw Mr. Watson in the morning, we were made acquainted that the negotiation was going on: no positive terms had been settled, but in the course of the day matters would be brought to a conclusion. In the evening he came again to inform us, that every thing was finished; that the agreement

agreement would be drawn up in the morning ; but that he had much dreaded the interference of the banker, who, he told us, had nearly interrupted the business by his imprudence in endeavouring, as he had kindly promised, to accelerate our departure. The ship would be ready to sail by the 16th at farthest, and he would wait on us with the agreement ; a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.

It was now necessary to think of our stock for the voyage, which was laid in under the management of Mr. Watson. On the 16th the acting Consul acquainted us by note, that a Venetian man of war being in the Channel, prevented our ships getting through ; but that the earliest opportunity would be embraced for that purpose.

The 17th at night the vessel got through the Channel, and nearly twelve miles distant from the city. As it was intended that we should embark next day, a proper coach was provided, and our baggage and stock sent off very early in the morning. By this time it was agreed, that Mrs. Taylor should proceed on the journey, the friend whose intention

tion it was to have accompanied her back having been left extremely ill at Aix-la-Chapelle. There was no English family in whose care I could leave her at Venice; and she was not only willing but extremely desirous to accompany me in the fatiguing journey that I had undertaken.

I find it here extremely proper to observe, that to repose too much trust in matters of this kind in any subordinate agent must ever be wrong. In place of agreeing with the master of a Sclavonian ship, which was done for us, and who belonged to a nation uncultivated and savage, Mr. Watson would have done well to have agreed with the commander of a small English brig then in the harbour, and ready to sail for the island of Zante; from whence we could easily have procured a passage to any port in the Levant. The circumstance of an English vessel being at Venice was kept a profound secret: and I cannot help thinking, that for a small sum we were put on board of a ship, badly manned, a bad sailer, and subject to every inconvenience and disadvantage: for, after a tedious and disagreeable passage to Zante,

we

we found that the English brig had arrived more than three weeks before us, was loaded, and had sailed for England, and that we were necessitated to hire another vessel at the expence of 200 guineas, in order to prosecute our voyage. Let me caution travellers against Slavonians in particular, and against the artifices of all menial agents whatsoever.

It is proper to mention, before leaving the continent, that cash is easily procurable at all large towns on the circular notes of London bankers. Their correspondents, to whom you are introduced by a circular letter, are numerous, and you are paid the exact value of whatever you deposit in their hands in London, without deduction or abatement of any kind. The utility of this plan is universally acknowledged by all travellers who have used these notes, and highly merits the attention of the public, and of which further notice will be taken. From some extracts procured at the India House, Trieste was pointed out as a very favourable port for embarkation to the Levant. In order exactly to ascertain this point, I addressed the Consul, Mr. Stanley, from Inspruck, the 5th of September, on the subject, requesting him to write me at



Venice, from whence the passage is not more than thirty-six hours when the wind is fair. That gentleman replied under date the 13th September, by informing me, " There was  
 " no vessel bound to the coast of Syria; the  
 " only ship for the Levant was one loading  
 " for Constantinople, and which would  
 " depart the end of the month;" adding,  
 " should you think it more expedient to hire  
 " a vessel, I imagine Venice a more proper  
 " place than Trieste."

Without attention to the marine division of time, I shall commence my sea journal; which, although dull and uninteresting, is nevertheless necessary for the information of the traveller.

Friday, 18th September, 1789. At four o'clock P. M. of this day we reached the Madona del Scarpello St. Anna e St. Antonio de Padua, 12 miles from Venice, having left that place, after an early dinner, about one o'clock, the wind being contrary. This vessel, with so many high-sounding names, was about the burden of 300 tons, mounting 18 six-pounders, and navigated by 20 Slavonians. Captain Georgio Woivodich, the commander, was of the same nation,

tion, and a native of the Bay of Cattaro in Dalmatia. The cabin and state-room were small for the size of the ship. Captain Woivodich reserved for himself and his mate part of the steerage, and appropriated the remainder to our servants. The mate was the only Italian on board, and acted as chief and only officer, purser, steward, and secretary: for such was the ignorance of our commander, that he could neither read nor write, nor did he possess the common requisites of good breeding.

September 19th. All this day the wind was blowing hard and directly against our quitting the channel.

September 20th. To-day the wind was much as yesterday, with unpleasant rainy weather.

September 21st. At four o'clock A. M. we weighed anchor, and were towed out of the channel by boats, in company of a small English brig.

September 22d. We made the coast of Istria this morning by eight o'clock, the ship being close in with the town of Rovigno: our Captain went on shore, and returned in two hours with some fine grapes, vegetables, and

bread—Stood along a rocky and barren shore, and passed the Cabo di Istria with moderate weather.

September 23d. Passed the islands of Ozerot and St. Pedro—moderate and fair weather, with light breezes.

September 24th. This morning coasted the long island, which is apparently barren, without houses or culture of any kind, and abounding with volcanic hills—Weather moderate, with light breezes—During the night we passed very near to the small islands of St. Andre, Lessia, &c. and before sun-set the island of Agosta was in sight.

September 25th. In the night heavy squalls with much rain—Passed Agosta, as we did also the island of Melida in the evening.

September 26th. Passed the little republic of Ragusa in the night. This place pays an annual tribute to the Turks of 20,000 piastrs, and enjoys a considerable trade. This morning three Venetian row-galleys passed us for the Bay of Cattaro. This being the port in Dalmatia mentioned in the agreement with the Sclavonian, we entered the harbour at half past twelve o'clock, and saluted the fort of Castle Novo with three guns,

guns, which was immediately returned. There being but little wind, it was not till five o'clock that we cast anchor within half a mile of the shore, where there is deep water, and not far distant from the fort: at this place we had reason to expect a detention of no more than two days, and indeed there was but little prospect of spending comfortably a much longer time: the country round us appeared very mountainous, with no cultivation: grapes, it is true, grew on the sides of the hills, close down to the water-side, but no appearance of grain of any kind. The tops of the mountains were covered with volcanic lava, which is the case all over the Dalmatian coast, and exhibits a very barren and forbidding aspect.

The bay itself is deep, large, and commodious, and completely land-locked. From the Bocca or mouth of the bay to the town of Cattaro the distance is about eighteen miles. Cattaro is the last town in Venetian Dalmatia, the inhabitants of which are generally termed Sclavonians, from speaking the language, and using the arms and dress of Sclavonia. It is very probable that they originally are descended from the same stock; but the general use of the language is re-

markable, this being the mother of the Russian, Polish, Hungarian, and Bohemian. The day after our arrival we accompanied our commander to Castle Novo, whither he and his crew went to perform mass. The fortifications are now in a very ruinous state, and are daily becoming more so, as no money is allowed to be expended for the purpose of repairs; they are extensive, and cover the hill from the side of the bay almost to the top. The garrison consists of about fifty soldiers, the most horrid figures I ever saw: the houses are few, and those very mean and poorly built. We could not procure any refreshment but at a miserable cook's-shop, kept for the use of the soldiers. This day being Sunday, and market-day with the inhabitants, we had an opportunity of seeing the people from the country, who came to dispose of their fruit, eggs, and butter; their appearance bespoke much of a savage nature. The men were all armed and distinguished by a peculiar ferocity of aspect: they are, as well as the women, well made, strong and healthy, and both remarkably neat and clean in their dress. Having determined to see the town of Cattaro, we hired a boat for ourselves, and on the 28th

we set out from the ship. The bay in its course to this place wanders amongst the mountains, and seems like distinct lakes, communicating with each other. At the foot of the mountains, villages and houses are scattered about, and the country appears fruitful in vines, with a little grain: but the people seem to apply themselves chiefly to the building of boats, as we saw many on the stocks, and others repairing.

The town of Cattaro extends about half a mile from the extremity of the bay to the foot of a very elevated mountain. The works, after surrounding the town, ascend in a zig-zag to the summit, which gives it, at a distance, a very romantic, and at the same time a formidable appearance. On landing from the boat, we walked to a little coffee-house in the town, where we were soon joined by several of the principal officers, who behaved with great attention and politeness. Count Gregorino, a native nobleman of considerable landed property in the neighbourhood, amongst others, introduced himself, and attended us to the houses of the Commodore of the Marine and the military commanding officer.



We had the opportunity of seeing every person in the place to the best advantage; for the two galleys which we accompanied to Castle Novo conveyed from Venice the new governor, and whose installation took place this day. It is customary to relieve the governments subordinate to the state every three years, and it is a matter conducted with no little ceremony: the troops were drawn up on the ramparts, and a military guard at the landing-place, where he was received by all the public officers, attended by the principal inhabitants, who conducted him to the palace under a salute from the guns of the fort; the troops afterwards fired three volleys.

After dining at the best tavern in the place, we were visited by the Brigadier or commanding officer. This gentleman was easy and communicative; he produced a correspondence with General Elliot and Commodore Colby, of which he was extremely vain; numberless compliments were bestowed by him on the gallant defender of the old rock, and on the English nation in general. His command here did not much exceed one complete regiment, with a few  
artillery

artillery men. I could not refrain from betraying a smile when he talked of the strength of the place, and termed it little Gibraltar. The Montenegrines, who are the inhabitants of the adjoining mountain, and the Turks, who are likewise in the vicinity, he said, obliged him to use great circumspection; neither of these people are even allowed to enter the gates of the town, which are regularly shut before dark, and are again opened by day-light. The savage nature of the Montenegrines occasion great alarm to the Venetians, who are so apprehensive of a surprize from this quarter, that the public markets are held outside of the walls. Their little territory is situated on the confines of Scutari and Albania, from whence they carry on a continual predatory war against the Turks, to whom they are implacable enemies: this enmity is cultivated from the tenderest years; and it is customary for the mother to preserve a rag dipped in the father's blood, provided he had fallen by the hands of the Turks, and which is daily shown to the children from the first dawn of reason to the years of manhood. Abbé Fortis, in his Travels in Dalmatia, relates the  
same

same circumstance of the Morlachi. He observes, " that as their friendships are  
 " strong and sacred, so their quarrels are  
 " commonly unextinguishable: they pass  
 " from father to son, and the mothers fail  
 " not to put their children in mind of their  
 " duty, to revenge the father if he has the  
 " misfortune to be killed, and to show them  
 " often the bloody shirt and arms of the  
 " dead." The ideas of barbarians must  
 ever be the same; but we remember a similar  
 sentiment in more polished and civilised  
 society. Anthony, King of Navarre, when  
 asked by Francis the Second of France into  
 the apartment where he was positively told  
 he would be put to death, " If they kill  
 " me," said he to one of his gentlemen,  
 " carry my shirt all bloody to my wife and  
 " son; they will read in my blood what they  
 " ought to do to revenge it."

The Brigadier having taken leave, Count  
 Gregorino attended us to view the church,  
 where we saw many relics of martyrs and  
 saints, with a long etcetera of church orna-  
 ments in gold and silver not deserving of a  
 moment's attention. We returned home to  
 the Count's house, where we were entertained  
 with

with coffee, melons, and other refreshments. The Count was in the habit of being civil and attentive to all our countrymen, who unfortunately for them are under the necessity of visiting Cattaro. He produced a book wherein he requested we would severally insert our names, and in which our predecessors had set us the example. Amongst other names, I observed that of General Hartley, a man whose character as a soldier renders him valuable to his country, and his amiable manners endearing to society.

Our repast being finished, the Count accompanied us on board the galleys, where we were soon after honoured with a visit from the Commodore's family, consisting of his wife, son, and two daughters. The son, who was an officer belonging to the galleys, was so polite as to order the slaves to their oars, for the purpose of showing us how orders were given by a pipe or boatswain's call to those unhappy wretches, who are mostly chained to the benches. It was with difficulty we could prevent the young gentleman from firing a salute; and we had pressing invitations from the ladies, who possessed very agreeable and engaging manners,

to drink tea on shore, and to remain all night at Càttaro. The civility we experienced at this place, as entire strangers, without any introduction, must appear striking; and I should feel it an act of injustice not to acknowledge the obligations we were under, far less deprive them of any share of that praise which is due to their hospitality and kindness.

Fatigued with the variety of the day, we were glad to return to our boat towards dusk of the evening; one of the men having got very drunk, became exceedingly noisy and troublesome: he was an intelligent fellow, but at the same time a bold determined villain. When the fumes of the liquor had somewhat evaporated, he recounted to us the different murders that had been lately committed in that part of the country. As for himself, he had only killed one man: it was true, he said, he was obliged to fly his village from the apprehension of the deceased's brother, who had vowed revenge; but as the distance was only eighteen miles, he could easily see his friends and relations whenever he thought fit. Such is the wretched state of Venetian police, that murderers and rascals of every description may easily evade the

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the punishment of the law, by removing from one district to another for they are never sought after out of that where the murder is committed, and even that crime may, by the agreement of the relations of the person who has suffered death, be commuted for gold. The Venetians themselves are by no means backward in acknowledging the defect in their laws, which they attributed to the true cause, the imbecility of their government. Apprehensive of revolt, they regard the Sclavonian inhabitants of Dalmatia as the best seamen and soldiers of the state; and by permitting amongst themselves the free exercise of their fierce and savage disposition, they bind them more effectually to their interest, than if a contrary conduct was observed, and justice done as in other countries. In this it would be deemed oppression, and sit very reluctantly on the haughty and implacable spirit of a Sclavonian. There being but little wind to assist us in our passage, and even what we had not very fair, we did not reach the ship till twelve o'clock at night. Next morning, as the stipulated period for our stay here was expired, we made a representation of this to  
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the Captain, who gave us for answer that the ship was leaky. After much altercation he agreed to sail in the evening, or early the following morning. To spend the day, Mr. Blackader and myself went on shore to shoot. In wandering amongst the vineyards, we were accosted by a man in the Italian dress, who was attending his people in gathering grapes and pressing the juice: he civilly offered us his new wine, and loaded our servant with fruit. This person was a proprietor of land, and kept a shop in the mountains, where he sold to the country people gunpowder, shot, tobacco, and such other articles as were best suited to their wants. He had travelled to Venice, where he had seen something of civilised manners, and appeared to regret the uncultivated state in which the minds of his countrymen were immersed. On my expressing a desire to know in what estimation their women were held, he informed me, that the men were extremely jealous and severe; that they had little cause for the former, as virtue was predominant amongst the fair sex; and pointing to a pretty-faced girl, who was gathering grapes at a little distance, he assured me,

that,

that, notwithstanding his assiduity and attention, combined with the advantages which he might expect to derive from his situation, he could never obtain the smallest favour. We advanced a few steps to view more closely this charming innocent; but our friend, perceiving the return of her father with the horses that had conveyed some new-made wine from the field, begged of us to retire. Our notice of the old man's daughter had not escaped him; for he turned to his master with rage in his countenance, and desired him, as we were informed, to desist from any design on his child, for whom he looked to a virtuous connection; and that if he dared to dishonour her, he would strike his knife to his heart. I cannot help imagining that the old man had very great grounds for suspicion; but, be that as it may, we took our leave, convinced there was danger in making love to a handsome Sclavonian. It has been justly remarked, that savages are more jealous than the cultivated race: and we cannot help observing, that levity in women is more and more encouraged by refinement of manners,  
and

and advances hand in hand with the riches and luxury of their country.

Game is extremely scarce in the neighbourhood of Castle Novo, and I cannot say that fish is plenty: in short, we nowhere experienced such bad living or less comfort than during our stay at this place. It was not to be wondered at if our patience was exhausted; for, although our Captain was engaged by a solemn promise to sail last night (September 30) or early this morning, it was not till two P. M. that he could be prevailed on to get under weigh. With a light wind, and the tide in our favour, we drove out a little distance, but at eight in the evening it became quite calm. We came to an anchor in three fathom, opposite to Castle Novo. The ship we found to be very leaky.

October 1. This morning, at seven A. M. we weighed anchor with a light wind from the S. E. or the Sirocco as it is termed all over the Levant. We cleared the bay very slowly, and at twelve o'clock saluted the little fort at the entrance of the harbour with three guns. By this time it began to blow fresh, which

which obliged the crew to be at the pump every two hours. At five o'clock the wind increased, and our Captain became alarmed. He earnestly requested our permission to put back: but this we positively refused: the coasts of Dalmatia and Albania were still in sight.

2d. The wind all night continued contrary, with heavy rain, and the morning did not present a very pleasing prospect.—Although the weather was hazy, we could perceive, at seven A. M. Ragusa on our larboard quarter, and by one o'clock the current had set so strongly against us, that the Captain was apprehensive of being driven to the leeward of his port. If this should have proved the case, we were sensible that he would not beat up, and we were reluctantly obliged to return to Cattaro, where we anchored at five P. M. in much our former situation. We found two galleys from Corfu had arrived during our absence.

3d. The wind was now in the S. E. with very blowing weather, attended with incessant rain. We were now literally prisoners on board. Next day (4th) it continued to blow hard, with the wind at S. E.—

We, however, went on shore, and dined at Castle Novo, having been invited to a marriage feast. The Sclavonians, at this fête, exhibited a medley of hospitality, jealousy, kindness, and ferocity: plentiful libations served only to increase the fervour of these contending passions, and to impress us still more with an unfavourable idea of their brutal and savage manners. In the evening, on our return on board, we received a complimentary visit from an officer of one of the galleys: this gentleman had been in England, the language of which he spoke with tolerable fluency. He was commissioned by Count Soranzo, the commanding officer of the galleys, to request our company the next day.

5th. The Count having sent his boat for us, we repaired on board to dinner. Every mark of attention was shewn to us on this occasion, and, before we took our leave, he insisted on our coming on board in the morning to spend the day with him. The Count remarked, that as the place itself was extremely inhospitable, he was more desirous of removing the chagrin which must doubtless arise from the situation we were in, and where nothing but horror could be inspired.

6th. We

6th. We as yet had no change in the wind, and consequently no vessel had yet left the Bay for the Levant. Agreeably to our promise, we again dined with the Count, and experienced the same hospitality as before. He had on each occasion a proportion of his officers at table, with whom he appeared to live on terms of harmony and friendship. A circumstance which occurred this day gave me a very shocking idea of Venetian depravity, and the abuse of aristocratic power, so very different from the manners of our own country:—two very handsome Venetian women, of inferior rank in life, were proceeding as passengers on board the Count's galley, to join their husbands at Corfu—in shewing us the different apartments and accommodation in the vessel, we were introduced into a little cabin occupied by these ladies: it was intimated to my companion, Mr. Blackader, that if he chose to amuse himself in a little amorous dalliance with either the one or the other, or even with both, they should be perfectly at his service. Not a little astonished at this, we found, on inquiry, that an insinuation to this effect from the Comodore would prove the fiat of Jove; diso-



bedience would be a crime of the first magnitude: neither would this be considered as an outrage; for it was a matter in course for ladies in their sphere to be perfectly complaisant to the dictates of their superiors. We joked the Count on the singularity of this privilege; he in turn ridiculed our scruples, and spoke in raptures of his affability and good-humour. This was not all the indelicate practices we remarked; for, proceeding to the lower deck of the galley, we discovered, by candle-light, the Anglo-Venetian in a situation not very proper to be described, but which a little attention to convenience on the part of the ship-builder might have easily remedied, and at the same time engaged in a familiar conversation with three women, who were employed ironing the officers' linen in an adjoining apartment, and which was only separated by a thin curtain. The treatment of the criminals, who are employed in rowing the galleys, became also a matter of attention: we observed them almost naked, lying on the benches to which they are chained both day and night, their only covering being a single wrapper, or coarse blanket: such is the Venetian

netian mode of punishing delinquents, more terrible than death itself. If ever in my life I felt the glow of satisfaction, it was on this occasion: proud of being born in a land of freedom, where neither the rich nor powerful can assume, nor the poor and humble will obey, mandates contrary to the civil and religious constitutions of the country, and where they would reject with scorn and indignation all attempts and all customs so degrading to human nature and to the laws of society and social order.

7th. Count Soranzo did us the honour of dining this day on board of our ship, which was spent with great cheerfulness and hilarity; we took final leave of this gentleman, as he was to sail for Corfu the following day.

8th. The oars with which these galleys are provided enables them to make some progress in light winds, even although they should not be favourable; and by keeping close under the land they are sheltered equally from the violence of the wind and currents so prevalent in the Adriatic. As our situation now became still more intolerable, I determined to take a survey of the bay, and endeavour to procure some other conveyance

from this scene of misery and horror.—9th. Several masters of vessels, for large sums, offered to land us at any port on the Levant; but they uniformly refused to work out of the harbour, or to set sail without a direct and leading wind. A Turk from Dulcigno wished me to make a purchase of his crazy bark at the exorbitant price of 400 chequins, which he agreed to navigate to Alexandria; but this would by no means answer our purpose. In the evening, when we returned on board, the Captain paid us a visit: he was from the boat people perfectly acquainted with our intentions of leaving him. He now offered to avoid stopping at either the islands of Zante or Candia, and to sail on the first change of wind; in this case it would be necessary for him to unload his cargo for these places, and to put it on board of other vessels. For this service he demanded 260 chequins to Cyprus; and if he arrived there in fifteen days, he was to receive a farther sum of 40 chequins. I acquiesced in these terms, and we soon found that the people were set to work to caulk the ship.

10th. The long-boat was repaired, and fitted

fitted up to carry the cargo on board of the other vessels which the Captain intended to hire at Cattaro. We employed ourselves in laying in our sea stock for the voyage; but on the Captain's arrival from Cattaro he informed us, that he could not procure any means to forward his cargo to their places of destination: he at the same time added, that if we would allow him to put in at Zante for a day and a half, that he would sail next day.

11th. Early in the morning the Captain came to induce us to enter into the agreement proposed last night, and offering to be towed out of the bay; but the detention at Zante was a material objection to our entering into any terms where delay was likely to accrue, having already experienced too severely its bad effects. After much conversation and controversy on this subject, we agreed to allow twenty-four hours at Zante, but in case of failure on his part the writing to be void. This the Slavonian had no idea of, and the matter ended. No vessels were as yet stirring, and the wind was variable, with mild weather. The crew went to mass in the morning, and in the afternoon, in the

absence of the Captain, who was on shore at his house, we took up our small anchor.

12th. Wind S. E. Much rain in the night.

13th. Wind S. E. All night heavy rain, with thunder—weather in the day cloudy, with occasional showers. Nothing stirring in the harbour.

14th. Light winds from the S. by E. with rain—the weather very cold, which gave us hopes of snow, which the crew informed us would change the wind to the Tramontane or North. In the evening, blowing hard, with three anchors down.

15th. Wind S. E. by E. Extreme bad weather all night, constant heavy rain, with violent gusts of wind. In the forenoon the rain continued, bringing with it lightning and loud claps of thunder. The clouds very heavy and thick, entirely covering to their base the adjoining mountains: the bay of a brownish hue, from the red earth brought down from the hills by many cataracts; in short, our situation was dismal—no prospect for the better: weather the most unpleasant, with a wind immediately contrary, and likely to continue.

16th. Wind

16th. Wind S. E. by E. Some rain in the night, with light winds—the morning showery. At three P. M. a snow anchored near to Castle Novo: we sent on board for intelligence, when she proved to have left Venice four days before us, and had been at sea ever since. This vessel, whose destination was Corfu, with one hundred and sixty soldiers for the garrison, had experienced as well as us violent S. E. winds. The Captain tried the Italian shore, hoping to find a change of wind, but to no purpose. After beating many days against contrary winds, and being greatly in want of provisions, he determined to put into Cattaro for a supply. As we were almost without liquor, we applied for some, but to little purpose, as we could only be spared a few bottles of English beer.

The afternoon proved squally, with the wind variable, and the Captain informed us, that for these twenty-two years he had not witnessed such boisterous weather, several houses on the side of the mountains having been entirely swept away by the violence of the current from above.

17th. Wind



17th. Wind E. S. E. Hard rain and heavy clouds.

18th. Wind Easterly. Light breezes and latterly variable—the weather fair, and the heavy clouds dispersed.

19th. Wind Westerly. This morning all the ships bound for the Levant got under weigh, viz. three large vessels for Smyrna, together with some smaller for different parts of the coast, and by ten A.M. they were clear of the bay. All this while our Captain shewed no disposition to move, notwithstanding that he had assured us, in the most positive manner, that his vessel, on a change of wind, should be the first to get away. This man appeared to us to be settling business on shore, and we afterwards learnt that a family quarrel was the cause of his delay. After repeated messages from us, he came on board at ten at night, when he gave it out that he meant to weigh in two hours. Having lost the favourable opportunity of the morning breeze, it was now out of his power to stir; for a little brig, close in with Castle Novo, attempted to clear the bay about eleven o'clock, but was soon entirely becalmed under the hills.

20th. We

20th. We began to weigh before day-break, and it was not till eight A. M. that our anchors were up. At this time it was a perfect calm, with the tide in our favour, and the boat was employed in towing the ship's head round. At two o'clock a little breeze sprung up from the N. W. which continued to increase till the evening, when it proved a fine wind.

21st. A fresh breeze all night from the Northward—early in the morning passed Durazzo. The coast of Albania and three ships in sight.

22d. Wind N. W. Light breezes and fair weather—in the morning Corfu and the isle of Fanus a-head. Six vessels in sight.

23d. Very little wind all night—in the morning a light breeze from the N. N. W. with fair weather. Passed the island of Corfu.

24th. Little wind in the night—in the morning a light breeze from N. W. In sight the islands of St. Maure and Cephalonia, with nine ships.

25th. First part of the night, wind as above—in the morning the wind shifted to a smart breeze from the S. S. E. attended with  
rain.

rain, St. Maure and Cephalonia bore from us nearly as yesterday at sun-set.

The wind being high and extremely squally, our Captain was afraid to carry sail, by which means we made no incredible deal of leeway: he now begged our permission to get into port; but our experience of his former conduct taught us to deny the request: we therefore continued working off and on till sun-set, at which time the island of Zante was in view, distant about thirty miles. Three ships in sight.

26th. During the night the wind increased to a heavy gale from the S. E. attended with rain and a great swell. The ship pitched very much, and took a great deal of water; all sail was taken in, and at day-light the north end of Cephalonia appeared on our lee-bow, distant only four or five miles. The ships in company all returned to Corfu, while we continued tacking off and on under our top-sails; but we lost ground considerably from bad steersmen and lee-way. At sun-set, head N. N. E. squally weather.

27th. Light wind in the night from E. S. E.—a heavy sea, and our ship making  
five

five points lee-way. Corfu in sight at daylight. At twelve o'clock, blowing hard, stood in shore and tacked within a mile of the island of Paxu. Afternoon calm—and at half past six P. M. a breeze sprung up from the E. N. E. which continued increasing. The coasts of Lavadu and Epiro in sight. Two ships in company.

28th. We experienced a brisk gale until four o'clock this morning, after which it fell calm.—At eight A. M. a breeze from the E. by N. Cephalonia was now on our weather-bow distant two miles. At half past eleven the port of Cephalonia on our beam, the island of Zante distant about sixteen miles, and the Morea in sight. At twelve o'clock the wind became variable, and the transitions so quick, that there was no knowing for a minute together in what manner to trim the sails. At sun-set, Cephalonia distant two or three miles, and at seven P. M. Zante right a-head, distant four miles, weather fair. The island of Cephalonia has a barren appearance to the coast, but inland it carries the appearance of cultivation, vineyards interspersed with houses, groves of olive trees, and small villages. The island

is in general mountainous and stony, particularly on this side.

29th. Wind E. by S. beating to windward all night. In the morning, on comparing our situation from that of yesterday at sun-set, we found that we had lost ground. At ten A. M. wind S. W. made sail—no ships in sight—a heavy swell from the Gulf of Patras. At half past ten the wind shifted to E. and E. by N.—tacking all day.

30th. Light winds in the night from the E. by N. as yesterday—a large ship with Russian colours in sight all day—wind variable. At sun-set, close in with the north end of Zante, but almost calm. Castle Tornefi, a small Turkish fort in the Morea opposite the island, was in view with the Russian ship at anchor.

31st. Last night mostly calm—in the morning, wind S. E. with the road of Zante on our larboard-bow, where we observed six large ships at anchor. Many small boats and Tartans in sight. At half past nine A. M. a small boat laden with grain from Cephalonia came along-side, bound for the port of Zante. The steersman came on board, and it was determined that Mr. Blackader should immediately

immediately land at Zante, in order to use his endeavours to procure some other means of conveyance to the coast of Syria, the bad conduct of the Sclavonian having made our stay with him altogether impossible. The boat people accordingly agreed to row Mr. Blackader and his servant on shore for ten pauls a piece, value about sixpence each. Our Sclavonian Captain had for some time suspected our intentions of quitting his ship, and depriving him of the present he expected on landing us at Cyprus. From this and other reasons he now acquainted us, that he could not permit of any person leaving the ship till her arrival at Zante: when we found that argument had no effect, we had recourse to more violent measures—we represented to him our being employed on the public service of our country; that we had an ample passport from the State of Venice, of which he was a subject, and we should consider a detention of this kind as an insult to our nation, and take measures accordingly. To end the dispute, he gave us to understand, that if we attempted to quit the ship, he would give orders to his people to detain us by force.

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This declaration was too plain to be misunderstood. To give up the point we considered as a triumph too great for this Bashaw, and to act with prudence and resolution required some deliberation. In this dilemma it was determined, that Mr. Blackader should walk over the side armed, and at the same time to declare the consequences in case of his being molested. As the matter was now pushed farther than our Captain either wished or expected, he privately spoke to the boat people to influence them to refuse to fulfil their agreement, alleging, the officers of quarantine would make them suffer severely for landing passengers without a bill of health, (a circumstance they pretended they were not aware of when the agreement was made): they however consented to carry a letter to the British Consul. We informed the Consul of our having in our possession dispatches of importance; that we were detained on board a Slavonian ship; and concluded, by requesting of him to make application to the proper power for a boat to be sent off and to convey us on shore.

The wind being at this time contrary, there could be no certainty as to our arrival

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at Zante, and a considerable delay might have been prevented by Mr. Blackader's going on shore in a row-boat, with power to hire another vessel. Our reflections on this subject were not the most pleasant, independently of the insult which had been offered to us.

All the day the wind continued light and variable—at sun-set, the ships in the road appeared plain from the deck.

November 1st. All night little wind and variable — at six in the morning a smart breeze from the E. by N. enabled us to stand in for the port of Zante.

The six ships before-mentioned proved to be part of a Venetian squadron, consisting of four line-of-battle ships and two frigates, with an Admiral's flag flying at his main-top-gallant-mast head. — At nine A. M. tacked. A ship from the S. E. quarter entered the harbour and saluted the Admiral with seven guns, which he returned with five. In passing we were hailed by all the ships of war, and at half past ten came to anchor within a mile of the town.

We found several small vessels riding here, mostly from the Levant, and consequently performing quarantine, but no English ves-

fel amongst them. At twelve o'clock the boat was ready to take us on shore, where we accordingly proceeded; but on our arrival at the Health Office we were informed that the officers belonging to it were gone to dinner, and that it would not be open till two o'clock, at which hour we were desired to return.

The ports in the Mediterranean, from the apprehensions of the plague, are under the necessity of having an establishment of this kind, in order to examine the passes of all ships, and the bills of health of the passengers granted at the port from whence they last sailed: from the nature and purport of these passes it is determined whether the vessel obtains pratique or clearance, or shall undergo quarantine, and for what length of time.

Quarantine differs very materially in the Mediterranean, and seldom is lengthened to the exact number of forty days, frequently eighteen only being deemed necessary. It is of great consequence for a traveller to have a bill of health separate from the crew, for the sake of dispatch. This is obtained at a small expence; and he should also be particular to  
which

which port he repairs if coming from the Levant; some ports are more strict than others, and the preference is to be given where the time you are detained is shortest, and the accommodations to be met with in the Lazaretto are good.

At two o'clock we accordingly returned to the Health Office, where we found the Assistant to the British Consul waiting to receive us. This gentleman's name was Forresti; by his means, although the office is particularly strict, we found little difficulty in landing. We were conducted by him to the house of Mr. Sargent, the Consul, to whom we had letters from Mr. Richie at Venice. Mr. Sargent, who was at this time a very old man, received us politely; and when we had told him of the manner in which our Slavonian Captain had conducted himself towards us, he offered to procure immediate justice, by complaining of him to Admiral Emo, the officer commanding the squadron in the harbour. This we however declined, as it was our intention to visit the Admiral when we could become our own advocates. We took leave, and before returning on board paid our respects

to Mr. Strani, an opulent merchant of Zante, whose civility and attention to strangers Mr. Forresti wished us to experience. In justice to him and his amiable wife we must acknowledge, that we received from them the kindest treatment during our stay. In the morning, Mr. Forresti came to us in a proper boat, in which he proposed we should pay our respects to the Admiral: civility is seldom thrown away, and in this instance we were abundantly repaid. The good Admiral was affable in the extreme, and so willing and ready did he appear to assist and forward us in the prosecution of our voyage, that we found a fair opening to state our situation in the Slavonian ship; he paid every attention to the recital, and promised us ample satisfaction. In our presence he gave orders that the Captain should attend on board on a certain day, with positive instructions that he should, in the mean-time, use all dispatch in discharging the vessel; and should he want boats for the purpose, those belonging to the fleet should be sent. The Admiral requested our company to dinner on that day, when we should be present at the reprimand and admonition which he intended



tended to give him. After the conversation ended, which turned much on the state of politics in Europe, we went on shore, and took up our abode in the house of Mr. Forresti.—Here let me pay a tribute to the virtues of Admiral Emo, for he is now no more. He died in the service of the Republic, in the enjoyment of the supreme command of the Mediterranean fleet, and what is still better, in the full possession of the esteem and veneration of his countrymen; who frequently declared, that no successor equal in professional abilities, in honour, or integrity, was to be found in the state!

The island of Zante is situated in Lat. 37. 53. N. Long. 21. 3. E. twenty-four miles in length, and twelve in breadth: it is inhabited by upwards of 60,000 people, whereof 20,000 are in the town of Zante. The inhabitants are chiefly of the Greek church, excepting the officers of government, who are generally Catholics of the Roman church. They are remarkably jealous of their women, and in consequence frequently commit the most horrid murders: and as they are good marksmen, they will shoot their object at a considerable distance,



and afterwards make their escape and elude the pursuit of justice. The fruit of the island is exquisite, particularly their peaches, oranges, and currants; of the latter, the produce is twelve millions of pounds annually, all which are exported: the currant is a small grape, originally from Corinth, from which circumstance it derives its name. The walks and valleys are delightful, and they have some pleasant country houses, where the inhabitants retire for health or amusement. The island is much subject to earthquakes; the strong springs of bitumen evinces the volcanic matter in the bowels of the earth, and these frequent convulsions of nature are therefore not to be wondered at. The castle, which is situated on an eminence above the town, is an old work, and now in ruins. It formerly had a governor, but the military force is very inconsiderable, and what there are being undisciplined, and much addicted to thieving.

During my stay at this island I had an opportunity of forming some idea of the character of the modern Greeks, and of becoming acquainted with many circumstances relative to that people; from the best  
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and most undoubted authorities. Amongst others, I was under particular obligations to Mr. Speridion Forresti for his intelligent communications. This gentleman was by birth a Genoese, had been settled in Zante for many years, and acted as British Consul, for the infirmities of Mr. Sargent prevented his fulfilling the duties of his office. Mr. Forresti's merit, and his services to the English, was often evinced; but it was more conspicuously so in the bold and successful attempt by which he regained and restored to the insurers the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, an English vessel, with a cargo on board valued at no less a sum than 80,000*l*. In the voyage from Leghorn, she was seized by a noted pirate of the name of Viscillie, who, with only three others, had entered on board as common seamen. After killing the chief mate and helmsman, off the island of Corsica, and turning the passengers and crew on shore, which was suffered in a manner, I must say, derogatory to the character of Englishmen, he sailed for Zante, and cast anchor on the east side of the island, with a view to obtain seamen to conduct the prize to some market where he might dispose of the property. In this situ-

ation, being unable to procure the necessary assistance, and information being received by Mr. Forresti of the true state of the case, he determined to retake the ship, and accordingly set out with a party of twenty men, the greatest part of whom he concealed behind a ridge of rocks, in the large boat in which he had left Zante: taking the small boat with four trusty, determined fellows, with concealed arms, he rowed towards the ship, but on coming along-side he was positively refused admittance on board.— After a parley of half an hour, Viscellie agreed to receive him singly. The pirate candidly acknowledged to Mr. Forresti the manner in which he had obtained possession of the ship, but refused, on any terms, to deliver her up. They went to the great cabin, where they drank plentifully of grog. A barrel of gunpowder and a match was placed on the table, with a sentinel ready to blow up the vessel on any appearance of coercion. Returning to the quarter deck, Mr. Forresti found the opportunity would be lost if he quitted the ship before effecting his purpose, as the wind was fair, and the pirate had determined that evening to cut the cables, for  
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he could not raise the anchor, and to trust his prize with the Greeks of the Morea. With the most undaunted resolution Mr. Forresti drew a pistol from his pocket, with which he wounded Viscillie under the left breast. The monster endeavoured to give the concerted signal to the sentinel below, by stamping with his foot on the deck; but this was prevented by the activity of Mr. Forresti, who tripped up his heels, when he fell with violence against one of the quarter-deck-guns. The Zanteze seamen in the boat were now called on board, who immediately secured Viscillie's companions, and particularly the person below, who, seeing his chief wounded and a prisoner, had not sufficient firmness to execute his dreadful purpose. Thus, by the means of one man, was a valuable ship and cargo rescued from the hands of a pirate, whose indefatigable zeal in the pursuit of villany, his courage, his address, and enormities, leaves him scarcely an equal. Viscillie was a native of Dalmatia, of low extraction, but whose mind was capable of executing the most determined enterprizes. At one time he was made prisoner

soner by the Venetians, at Castle Novo, in the bay of Cattaro, when, to effect his escape, he had the address to prevail on the sentinel under whose charge he was to rob his officer, set himself at liberty, and even to accompany him in his flight. Strange to relate, that at the distance of a few miles from the place of his confinement, he had the atrocity to murder his liberator for the sake of a booty amounting to no more than fourteen Venetian chequins !!!

Mr. Forresti was handsomely rewarded for his bravery and resolution, and was appointed British Consul at Zante on the death of Mr. Sargent. We confided in this gentleman to forward us on our voyage; and as we had fully determined to quit the Slavonian ship, it became necessary to consult him on the subject. When he considered, from the lateness of the season, the little probability of any vessel arriving at Zante in her way to the Levant, he had some thoughts of trusting us to the care of the Mainnottes. These people are famous for their skill in the management of their boats, whose swiftness is remarkable; and had not the arri-

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val of an English vessel afforded us relief, we should have gladly accepted the proposal.

The Mainnottes are the wretched remains of the ancient Lacedemonians. The high and rugged mountains that run from north to south, and lose themselves in Cape Matapan, the Tenara of the ancients, form the most southerly headland of the Morea; whilst the bay of Coron, formerly called Messina, occupies the west, and the bay of Colochina, or Laconick Gulf, the eastward of the Cape.

The Mainnottes possess a character different from any people in modern Europe. Of the Greek church they are alike the enemy of the Christians and the Turks. Pirates by sea, robbers by land; opposed to corsairs of all denominations, they seem to regard themselves as privileged plunderers on the deep. Restrained by no laws, human or divine, they are neither just to themselves, to their neighbours, or their friend. Custom, which becomes second nature, sanctions, and even the religion of the Mainnottes approves the worst of crimes. The dexterity of the Spartans is here refined into system and maturity.



maturity\*. In most countries religion is at least a feeble check to irregularities, and has a tendency to guard the property of others: in this the Calogers, or monks, from their cells and caves, are the spies and sentinels to give warning of the approach of vessels. On their appearance they piously turn out to encourage the banditti, and to partake of their plunder. They demand the tenths of the church, and by this means religion becomes a cloak to their infamy and knavery. The vices of the Mainnottes are many, their virtues few. Were they deprived of courage, and the independence of their nature, there could no where be met so despicable a race. Unworthy to associate with any nation, they form no alliances, but depend on themselves, the strength of their country, and their own insignificance.

They are dextrous in handling the oar, and in using the sail; their vessels being alike adapted for both purposes. The best-

\* Lycurgus, the Lacedemonian law-giver, with a view to render the citizens dextrous and cunning, ordained that the children should be practised in thieving, and those who were caught in the fact should be severely whipped.—MONTESQUIEU.

failing Turkish or Venetian galleys fall very short, either of the skill of their seamen, or the swiftness of their cruizers; and the circumstance of their drawing little water, and being able, when pursued, to run into shallow creeks, gives them a decided advantage.

The Brazzo de Maina, as their country is termed, contains about 40,000 souls—the tops of its mountains are frequently covered with snow, whilst the bottom affords good pasturage for their numerous herds of cattle and goats—their grapes are delicious, and make wine not inferior to that of Lepadhe, esteemed the best in Greece. Game they have in abundance, particularly quails: these, when salted, afford them an agreeable and wholesome food, but the plenty of wild hogs, bears, and deer, is altogether incredible.

The finest water in the world is distilled from their mountains, and running streams intersect the country more than any other of the same extent. What luxury is here for the gratification of so abandoned a people! It is said, that the mountain of Tenara yields rock crystal, minerals of various kinds, and even some precious stones.—In the midst of this mountain is an extraordinary

nary crater, very wide, and of an immense depth. This opening was by the ancient Greeks consecrated to Neptune, and is now supposed by the ignorant Mainnottes to be the gateway of the devil, by which he visits the earth. By the Lacedemonians it was esteemed one of the gates of hell, in the same manner as the lake Peneus was supposed to be another, and the source of the Styx. Hercules was reputed to have entered the Tenarean crater, when he conquered and carried off the triple-headed Cerberus when defending the infernal mansion of his master Pluto.

The Mainnottes still remain in a considerable degree independent of the Turks, and are divided into two races :—the inhabitants of the southern district are denominated by the Turks Căcovouguis, or “ the Rascals of the Mountain,” while those who possess the low country to the northward are less savage and ferocious. They maintain a republican government, at the head of which are their Papas or Priests of the higher order, to whom are joined one or two of their most opulent families. There is no doubt but their entire subjugation could be easily effected,

fects, were it seriously undertaken; but as I have already observed, they are too insignificant; and besides, they are now bridled with citadels and garrisoned with Janizaries, which makes them cautious of plundering the Turks as they formerly used to do.

In former times, and indeed not much above a century ago, the piracies of the Mainnottes were shocking to humanity. When a Turkish vessel was captured by them, they repaired to Malta and sold the crew: when a similar misfortune happened to a Christian, the Turks became the purchasers; and it was no uncommon matter for a Mahometan to bargain with a Mainnotte to seize and carry into slavery some particular Christian whose fortune or situation might excite his envy—so little scrupulous were they in this respect, that the wife or child of their neighbour was equally obnoxious to their arts. So much terror and dread did this unnatural traffic occasion amongst themselves, that when any of their famous corsairs were preparing for sea, the handsome women and children were carefully secured, lest they should be stolen and sold into other countries. On this subject a pleasant story is related of two famous corsairs

corsairs of the year 1669:—Theodora and Anapliottis, friends and neighbours, connected by similarity of profession and disposition, were married to handsome women. It happened, in the division of a Venetian prize, that a quarrel ensued between these venders of their fellow-creatures—each in his turn vowed revenge. Theodora succeeded in seizing on the wife of Anapliottis, and carried her for sale on board a Maltese cruizer, then at anchor in the road of Mainna. The commander of the Maltese refused to give the price demanded; urged his having on the same day purchased a more beautiful woman for a less sum: and, to convince him of the truth, he ordered her to be produced. Theodora was astonished to behold his wife, who, in like manner, had been carried away by the stratagem of Anapliottis. The mind of Theodora was enraged, and the idea of extricating his own was, for the moment, lost in the savage gratification and revenge of disposing of the wife of the other at the inferior price offered by the purchaser. The bargain being finished, and both wives in the possession of the Maltese, Theodora repaired to the house of Anapliottis—



ottis—the meeting was of a different nature from what might be expected : he found Anapliottis busily employed in fitting out a vessel to attack the Maltese, and regain the fair captive. In place of anger and reproach, they prudently agreed to join their forces, and to recover their wives by any means that might best suit their purpose ; but the purchaser was too judicious to oppose, and quietly gave up what with safety to himself he could not retain. The husbands returned in triumph to their respective houses ; all parties were reconciled ; and mutual forgiveness closed this extraordinary transaction.

The enormities of the Mainnottes were at last sufficient to attract the notice of Achmet Pashaw, Grand Vizier to Mahomet the Fourth. To revenge the death of twelve of their corsairs, who were, by the orders of the Vizier, impaled at Candy, in the year 1667, they had the audacity to enter the harbour of Candy in the night, and to burn the Turkish ships under the guns of the fort. Their cunning, resolution, and artifice, enabled them to offer many other indignities to the Turkish government. To sooth, if possible,



their savage temper, the Vizier promised them double price for whatever provisions they could supply his camp before Candy. This liberal offer they rejected. Their fast-failing vessels frequently intercepted and plundered the Turkish galleys loaded with warlike stores and provisions ; neither was their being filled with Janizaries sufficient to protect them. The evil at length became so very alarming, that the most experienced Admiral in the service of the Turks, Hassan Baba, was ordered with a small squadron to cruize against them. On the appearance of the Turkish fleet on the coast, the whole country was immediately in arms, and the women and children in motion to their rugged and almost inaccessible mountains, with what property they could hastily collect. On this occasion, a woman of the family of Giracaris, being sent to by her husband, on her way to the mountains, to know where she had deposited his arms, she indignantly replied, " Let him come and look to my child, and I will occupy his place." Delivering her infant into the hands of an old woman, she collected together those of her own sex, and repaired at their head to the place of rendezvous,

vous, where the men were already in arms, waiting the landing of the Turks. In spite of entreaty, they resolved to abide the consequences of an assault. Hassan Baba, not choosing to risk an attack against so determined a people, where even their women were warriors, attempted to open a negotiation, but without effect. His squadron was repeatedly fired on from the shore, and in the night a party of the Mainnottes swam off, and cut the cables of the Turkish fleet: the morning discovered two of their ships stranded on the beach, and the remaining ships, from the shallowness of the water, in no condition to assist them. The crews of the stranded galleys were made prisoners, and the Turkish Admiral put to sea with the remains of his fleet.

The Vizier, unwilling to push matters to greater extremities, had recourse to policy. By means of some Mainnotte prisoners, he contrived to sow the seeds of dissention and jealousy amongst the people, and he succeeded so far as to prevail on them to allow two citadels to be built, under the pretext of protecting their trade, but intended, in fact,

as a check and control over them. This system of Machiavelian policy appears to have been adopted in all nations, and in all ages. Fomenting disputes, and exciting quarrels in society, whether on religious or political topics, has ever been made the instruments of subversion. Nations have, by this means, become an easy prey, and the favourite axiom, divide et impera, occasioned the greatest public calamities. The drift was soon discovered by the more sensible of the Mainnottes, who, rather than tamely submit to the yoke, made application to the Pope to be admitted into the bosom of the church, and to an establishment in his temporal possessions. This request was refused; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to whom a similar petition had been presented, also declined. The Turks were sensible of the merit of the Mainnottes as expert seamen, and would gladly have conciliated their good-will and friendship on any terms. They were offered exemption from many imposts which the Christians and even the Turks are obliged to pay, and promised the free and unlimited exercise of their religion; but it does not appear

pear that they ever formally bargained away the independency of their character, or that they yet yielded up their liberty to the Turks.

It may appear somewhat paradoxical that a cruel and ferocious nation should want true courage. Natural bravery is a passion too sublime and refined to possess the breast of a Mainnotte; but indeed bravery and ferocity, courage and cruelty, can never associate in the human, or even in the animal creation. The lion is brave, generous, and open; the tyger cruel, cunning and dastardly. We have several instances of the cowardice of the Mainnottes in open war, and even of their deserting their country altogether. The Venerians had a corps of Mainnottes during the famous siege of Candy, but it was soon perceived that the spirit of the Spartan heroes no longer animated their breasts. In the year 1770 the Russians attempted, in their favour, a diversion in the Gulf of Messinia. When the town of Mistra was taken by capitulation, the Mainnottes slaughtered men, women, and children. This barbarity of conduct drew from the Russians severe animadversion; but as they were not allowed to conduct the war

on their own sanguinary principles, they, to a man, deserted the Russian army, which obliged them hastily to evacuate the Morea. Their former predatory excursions on the confines of Messinia had obliged the Governor of Modon to go against the northern Mainnottes, as being the most assailable, and the least likely to make resistance. On this intelligence four thousand embarked in six large vessels, and set sail for Corfica, in order to settle themselves at Paomia; but owing to their ships being over full, and a heavy storm arising, not one half of their number reached the place of their destination. Many other instances might be adduced: but we do not wish to overcharge the picture.

In taking leave of these people, I cannot omit quoting the words of a celebrated author: "The first Greeks," says he, "were small nations frequently dispersed, pirates at sea, unjust at land, without government, and without laws\*." How nearly this description of ancient Greece approximates to its present unhappy situation? What room there is for reflection, and what a useful les-

\* Montesquieu.



son should it teach mankind, when we consider that the borders of the Mediterranean Sea either has been, or even at this moment is, the most luxuriant country in the world; famous for being the seat of learning, of eloquence, and of the arts; so superior in all respects to the rest of nations, that Montefquieu, in describing the splendour and magnificence of ancient Greece, justly observes:

“ What a source of prosperity must they  
 “ have found in those games with which  
 “ she entertained, in some measure, the  
 “ whole globe; in those temples to which  
 “ all the kings of the earth sent their offerings;  
 “ in those festivals at which such a  
 “ concourse of people used to assemble from  
 “ all parts; in those oracles to which the  
 “ attention of all mankind was directed;  
 “ and, in short, in that exquisite taste for  
 “ polite arts which she carried to such a  
 “ height, that to expect ever to surpass her  
 “ would be only betraying our ignorance.”

Let us now view the reverse, and contemplate the melancholy picture:—Agriculture is neglected, the arts despised, arms no longer honourable, and an equitable commerce no more encouraged. Were I to fix on a spot



where any pretensions to civilization exist, and where the people are more abandoned in their morals, and more licentious in their manners than any others, I should turn with indignation and sorrow to the country extending from the Cabo de Istria, at the extremity of the Adriatic, to Cape Matapan, the most southerly promontory in Europe.

On a minute investigation of the features which have so strongly marked the character of the inhabitants of the states of Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and Greece, we will find it has originated from many causes, from numberless vicissitudes and convulsions. The decline of the Greek Empire, succeeded by the tyranny and oppression of the Turks, under whose government property is insecure, and there is consequently little inducement to live quietly and peaceably at home, has contributed much to the degeneracy of the people, more especially when we consider their fanaticism and mortal aversion to the religion of their conquerors. Under particular circumstances, the mind of man is easily induced to swerve from a life of virtue and industry, and from the institutes of religion flowing in a wrong channel: influenced by personal

personal pique and animosity, he is led from acts of violence and rapine, till at last he becomes sunk in vice and barbarism. Greece has experienced, and so it is ordered by the unerring principles of nature, that all other countries have, or hereafter shall experience, the alternate periods of light and darkness. The ascent to civilization is tedious and difficult, but the fall is often extremely rapid. The Empire of the East had long been in a state of progressive decline, till the Turks, by the conquest of Constantinople, gave it the finishing blow. Scanderbeg, the last Prince of Albania, long and obstinately opposed the Turks; but with him expired the last efforts and the virtue of his country. His adherents, divided into small parties, became the freebooters of Greece, and lived in a state of the most savage society. The Montenegrins, Suliotes, the Chimareans, the Paramathians, are of this description, and also the Arnauts, who inhabit the Morea in wretched caves, and whose inveteracy to the Turks yet remains with undiminished ardour. Such is the state of modern Greece: but the day may yet come when the arts shall be revived, and that fine country again flourish in  
all.

all her former dignity and splendour. And it may be consolatory to the human mind to remark, amidst the convulsions which have ravaged Europe, and to which at this moment there appears no determinate end, that the theatre of war may be changed to the shores of Greece and Asia; where, if we find a latent spark of that spirit and animation which used in former days to pervade the community at large, (and we will even now discover some remains amongst the Greeks of that sacred electric fire) a hope may yet revive, that the hour is near at hand when their expiring virtues shall be again called forth, and the ignominious chains with which they have been fettered broken to pieces, and they be restored to that place in society which the merit of their ancestors so deservedly authorized.

The dissolution of the Turkish Empire has long been predicted, as well as the downfall of the Papal power. One of these events has actually taken place, although much sooner than was expected, and the completion of the other may, perhaps, be not far distant. On this subject, whilst last in India, I met with a very eccentric political speculation, published

published in Calcutta in the year 1790, entitled, "The Partition of the Dominions of the Pope, preceded by that of the Ottoman Empire."

In this treatise it is endeavoured to combine those events as depending in some measure on each other; it is not at all improbable that the very same causes which proved the destruction of the one may tend to accelerate the extermination of the other; and similarity in both, in many respects, may be easily traced.

The author in some former publications assumed the signature of Elias Habesci: an enigmatical name taken from the Arabic Sahib-el-Sicia, or the friend of the unfortunate.

The real name of this traveller was Gica, or, as he styled himself, Count Gica, and of Greek extraction. The Count has, no doubt, taken the idea from the grand plan of Henry the Fourth of France, whose passion was, to frame a political system by which all Europe might be governed and regulated as one great family. The Turks, or other powers adverse to Christianity, would have been totally expelled from Europe; the Emperor of Germany would have become  
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the first and chief magistrate of the Christian republic; and the whole upheld on the solid basis of dividing Europe equally amongst a certain number of powers in such a manner, that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear from the possessions or power of the other. Count Gica, as a Greek, wishes for the renovation of the Greek Empire at Constantinople to form the bulwark against the Turks, while Henry more sensibly proposes the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, to be elective, and particularly to be bestowed on princes of a military spirit, who were to become the barriera gainst the infidels. I am afraid the division made by Count Gica is neither so equitable, or the structure so well cemented, as that proposed by the great Henry. To evince the difference of times and of sentiments, the Pope, from the justice of the latter, would have become a powerful secular prince, while the Count reduces him from all his temporal dignities to the situation of Bishop of Rome. While something is due to the Count's ingenuity, we cannot help being struck with the sublimity of the design of Henry the Fourth. To his immortal honour



honour it had not for its object the ambitious views of Charles the Fifth, who aimed at nothing less than universal monarchy, as the French now do at universal republicanism. To the kingdom of France no acquisition of territory was required, and Europe would have been governed by six hereditary and five elective monarchies, with four republican states; and the general concerns of this quarter of the globe have been regulated by a council, composed of deputies from each, to have assembled in the most central situation for all the parties. Had this effectually taken place, Europe might have escaped the present sanguinary and destructive war: but I apprehend the scheme was too extensive, and comprehending the interest or the ambition of too many, ever to have been accomplished. It is worthy of remark, that the Count, in his distribution, admitted of no increase to the British Empire, estimating the possession of India as a full equivalent: but as, without Egypt, the intercourse between them could not be perfectly safe and expeditious, he allowed, as a natural consequence and equitable right, the propriety of  
that



that country being subject to the Crown of Great Britain.

The renovation of the Greek Empire, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, has long been a favourite axiom: it has been a desideratum in this quarter of the globe, and necessity may occasion a new re-establishment of that order and social compact which mistaken policy has hitherto rejected. The French appear inclined to turn their arms to the East, and to seek fresh sources of rapine and plunder. Whatever their views may be, it would be well if the scourge of humanity were transferred from civilized and populous kingdoms, and the torrent be directed where the baneful influence may be less felt, and certain good compensate for partial evil. The Russians are inclined to favour the project, and it would bind that nation more effectually to oppose and check the daring and fatal schemes of French republicanism. Can no stop be put to those principles which have nearly ruined Europe, and which threaten to be extended to the utmost limits of the habitable world? Let us then rouse and cover the Mediterranean

ranean with our fleets, and the borders of  
 Turkey and Greece with our armies—the  
 cause would be noble, and the present odious  
 system of politics would be changed: the  
 oppressed Christians and Greeks would flock  
 to our standard; the Bosphorus would be  
 opened to the shores of the Black Sea, and  
 Poland afford abundant supplies. Let us not  
 forget the illustrious Catharine, who, with all  
 her catalogue of vices, considered her second  
 grandson, Constantine, as a Greek from the  
 womb, and looked forward to the throne of  
 Constantinople. Let us remember the ar-  
 dency with which that nation supplicated  
 her interference—their exertions in the cause  
 of freedom—and that the Princes of Georgia  
 and Armenia are not inimical to a change.  
 The throne of Turkey, raised by the sword,  
 but by the revolt of its provinces immerg-  
 ing into rapid annihilation, can obtain little  
 support from the means by which it was es-  
 tablished. The glories of Mahomet the  
 Second, and Solyman the Magnificent, are  
 obscured; and the only remembrance that  
 remains is a wide disjointed empire, neither  
 cemented by power nor upheld by inclination.  
 They are themselves aware of that convul-  
 sion

sion which must inevitably happen, and they look for shelter in the former dominions of the Caliphs, where the arts flourished, and where philosophy reigned, but which the effeminate Turks barbarously reject.

Kingdoms as well as families are connected by ties of reciprocity; and the same incidents in point of situation and habits of industry and commerce equally operate on both. Let the situation of either be near or distant, they tend from circumstances to the same measures of mutual prosperity. Russia is the natural ally of Britain, and were their interests more immediately united, a doubt cannot exist but a basis would be established productive of the greatest relative advantages. The ambitious views of the French Directory, and the problematical designs of Buonaparte, bid fair to accelerate the point of union between England and Russia. From the vicissitudes of the present war we are excluded from any port in the Mediterranean;—an establishment essential to our commerce, and particularly so to our communication with India, both by the Gulf of Persia and the Rea Sea. The interests of Russia in the trade of the Archipelago, the  
Levant,

Levant, and the whole of the Mediterranean, requires no illustration:—on the other hand, the views of France to occupy Messina, Corfu, Malta, Candia, and Cyprus, and even Egypt, cannot fail to attract the attention of Russia and Britain, and irresistibly oblige them to concentrate their forces, in order to repel an attack so pregnant with danger, and so destructive in its consequences.

The Greeks, as I have already observed, will cheerfully join this federation, and materially assist to render the views of France nugatory and abortive, to the natives of which country they have a mortal antipathy. The Greeks estimate their population at nearly seven millions; but I should imagine that this account is much overcharged. The capitation tax paid by the Morea and its few jurisdictions amounts to no more than 3,560 purses rumi of 560 piastrs each\*, and the

\* When purses rumi are mentioned in the course of this work, it is to be understood that they contain five hundred dollars or piastrs each. Out of a pound of silver, equal to one hundred drachms of which these piastrs are coined, not more than forty drachms is of pure silver, the remaining sixty base alloy.—The piastr rumi is the silver piece which passes from hand to hand, whilst the current piastr is that in which accounts are kept, and fluctuates according to the rate of exchange.

sum paid into the Turkish Miri, or treasury, for the whole of European Turkey scarcely exceeds 20,000 purses. Moldavia and Wallachia, from whence the Porte draws great supplies of grain, are not included in this statement. The number of men that could be easily raised from the states of Greece would undoubtedly be numerous. During the late contest between the Russians and the Turks, the Greeks flattered themselves with the appearance of an army of that nation on the plains of Adrianople of 300,000 men. It has been represented that the Greeks are patient of control in war, and easily subjected to military discipline: but I should apprehend, that the ardour of their passions would bid defiance to rule, and that their courage is that of enterprize, and their system that of devastation. The Greeks, once in arms, it would be a difficult task to reduce them to order, or prevent their predatory disposition. They declared to the late Empress of Russia, " that they  
 " asked not for treasure: we only ask," said they, " for powder and ball, which we cannot purchase, and to be led to battle. We  
 " are come to offer our lives and fortunes—  
 " not to ask for your treasures." The adventures



ventures of Lambro\* is a convincing proof of the unwillingness with which the Greeks give up their martial pursuits. The termination of the last war between the Russians and the Turks occasioned the Mediterranean to swarm with privateers; they attacked the ships and vessels of every nation, friend or foe, and it was computed that no less than 300 French vessels were captured by those piratical adventurers, composed of Greeks and other inhabitants of Dalmatia and European Turkey: the crews of the captured ships were murdered, and sometimes tied together and thrown into the sea: frequently they were set adrift in the boat, and, in short, the most horrid cruelties were exercised. Amongst the foremost of these desperadoes, we find the name of Lambro, who became a terror to the surrounding shores: his outset was in the cause of liberty and his country; but when he found that the sword was sheathed between Russia and Turkey, he descended to the vilest and most ignoble practices. Under the colours of Russia, he attack-

\* This man's name is Lambro Canziani, but he was generally known in the Mediterranean by the name of Lambro.



ed and plundered, particularly, the French, the Turks, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the vessels belonging to the different states of Italy. The evil became so serious, that representations were made to the Court of Russia: that Court disclaimed all connection with the pirate; and every exertion was used by the French to seize him. Lambro was at length subdued, and he fled to his native country, where he was kindly received. In the history of this man may be read that of his countrymen. It is only the meliorating hand of time, and the advancement and progress of science, that can restore the Greeks to the bonds of social compact, the habits of industry, and the full enjoyment of those blessings which originate in a regular attention to the moral duties, and which distinguish a civilized people from a nation of barbarians.——But return to the island of Zante. We experienced great politeness and hospitality from the inhabitants, who, were it not for the vices imported from Italy and Venice, would much better deserve the encomiums of a traveller. The use of the stiletto is much practised here, and it is dangerous to be much abroad after dark. Independent of  
the

the natives of the place, we had the good fortune to be introduced to Madame Guimaire, wife to the ci-devant Austrian Consul at Salonica. Her husband from the war had repaired to Vienna on political affairs, and the lady had sought an asylum in Zante. As she was descended from English parents, she was pleased to be extremely kind to our party, and, during our abode here, her attention to us was gratifying in the extreme. Neither must we forget the kindness of two young men, Dandolo and Minotte, officers in the Venetian fleet, and descended from the first families in the state : they attended us every day, and they vied with each other to make our stay agreeable. The family of the former has, I observe, been active to oppose the revolution which has lately taken place in Venice, and where the grasp of power has overthrown a republic which has existed since the subversion of the Roman Empire by the barbarians of the North—a period of more antiquity than most of our existing states, whose duration may not in all human probability have so long a continuance, however far the refinement of modern

dern organization may vainly attempt to raise a fabric on a more solid foundation than the unstable piles on which the city is erected. It must be remembered that Venice has for ages past repelled the attack of the surrounding element, and now rears its head as an ornament to the world.

Our stay here being now prolonged so much beyond what we had ever conceived, notwithstanding that Admiral Emo, on the day we dined with him had ordered the Sclavonian Captain to be ready to sail by the 12th of the month, under pain of exemplary punishment, and who was besides strictly charged to bring with him on his return a certificate from us of our being perfectly satisfied with his conduct and treatment, we resolved to embrace the opportunity, which the arrival of the Roman Eagle, an English vessel, now presented, to quit so uncertain and precarious a conveyance as that we had before experienced. The Roman Eagle, commanded by Captain Crosbie, was a brig of 170 tons burden, and had sailed from Liverpool for Marseilles, from whence she was now arrived in ballast at Zante, with a view to load currants at this island,

island, and to complete her cargo at the port of Patras in the Morea. I entered into an agreement with Captain Crossbie to carry us to Latachea, or Scandaroon, and to sail positively on the 12th of the month; for this service I agreed to pay him the sum of 200*l*. We embarked on the day appointed, and on the 13th, at eight o'clock in the morning, our vessel was towed out of the harbour by two boats from the Venetian man of war, there not being a breath of wind stirring.

We did not neglect, previously to our departure, to take leave of our friend the Admiral, when this good old gentleman recommended us strongly by a letter to the protection of all the Venetian Commanders and Consuls, wherever chance might, in the course of our journey, throw us in the way.

The letter was a testimony of the urbanity of his disposition, his good-will to the English nation, and politeness towards us.

November 14th. We had not lost sight of the island of Zante—the wind was northerly, with squalls and rain, and by observation at twelve o'clock we were in Lat. 37. 2. N.

15th. The wind still continued northerly, with strong gales, and cloudy weather, attended with some rain. Lat. 35. 17. N.

16th. Wind N. E. strong gales, and cloudy weather, with sudden squalls and frequent showers of rain. Lat. 34. 44. N.

17th. Wind N. N. E. a very hard gale, with a head swell.—At twelve o'clock we saw the island of Gozo, bearing N. E. by E. distant four or five leagues. Lat. 34. 27. N.

18th. This day we found the wind extremely light and variable, and sometimes it was quite calm. The day being clear, and Gozo bearing from us N. E. by N. distant three or four leagues, we had sight of the island of Candia, with Mount Ida rising from its centre. We could not readily forget the once-famed Isle of Crete, now subjugated by the Turks, and immersed in indolence and slavery. Lat. 34. 22. N.

19th. Wind S. with pleasant weather. Lat. 34. 19. N.

20th. Wind N. with moderate weather. Lat. 34. N.

21st. Wind as yesterday, with fine weather. Lat. 34. 12.

22d. Wind



22d. Wind to-day W. and by N. The weather continued moderate, with a clear sky. At ten in the morning we discovered the west end of the island of Cyprus, or Kubrus, as it is called by the Turks, bearing N. E. distant ten or twelve leagues. Lat. 34. 12.

23d. Wind S. S. W. weather fine—at twelve o'clock Cape Tigilo bore N. by W. distant only three miles, Lat. 34. 44.—at five P. M. Cape de Gatto bore E. by N. distant ten leagues.

24th. Wind at S. W. and moderate—at two o'clock P. M. we brought up in twenty-three fathoms in the bay of Lernica; a boat immediately came off, in which we went on shore, accompanied by our Captain. We repaired to the house of the English Consul, but found he was removed to Aleppo, and that there was no one to supply his place: this occasioned some difficulty, but at last we procured a pilot to conduct us to Latachea, for which Captain Crosbie agreed to pay him thirty piastras. We found but little accommodation and less civility in this ruined place, which, though once a considerable city, is now reduced to a miserable village. The roadstead is good, which is all the excellence



cellence it has at present to boast of; the soil is luxuriant, and produces cotton, silk, and drugs, and the salt-works in the time of the Venetians were considerable; the wines are rich and pleasant, and the island of the Paphian Deity might indeed become a paradise, were it not for the superstition and indolence of its present inhabitants, and the arbitrary government of the Turks, which is every where felt, to the total destruction of commerce: for the wretched policy of the Turks leaves no room for exertion. The capitation paid by the Christians on this island amounts to eight hundred and fifty purses each, containing five hundred piastres rumi. The Abbé Mariti informs us, “ When the Turks  
 “ conquered Cyprus, they reckoned in it,  
 “ besides women, children, and old people,  
 “ 70,000 men subject to capitation: and  
 “ the Grand Seignior, at the rate of five  
 “ piastres per head, drew from it an annual  
 “ revenue of 400,000*l*. But despotism hav-  
 “ ing overran this island, its sources of abun-  
 “ dance dried up, and its population de-  
 “ creased so much, that at present there are  
 “ scarcely 12,000 men subject to capitation.  
 “ Such is the oppression and rapacity which  
 “ the

“ the governors, magistrates, clerks, and a  
 “ multitude of subaltern agents, exercise a-  
 “ gainst the unhappy Cypriots.” The pre-  
 sent race of men are not only servile, but  
 obsequious to every thing that can be de-  
 manded ; their priests think it no disgrace  
 to acquire money by any means, however  
 degrading or derogatory to their character  
 and profession. The women are handsome,  
 gaudy, and wanton in their apparel, and  
 retain a predilection for those orgies for  
 which their ancestors were so renowned.  
 The fervour of love, the growth of warm  
 and genial climates, was in this island in-  
 grafted in the mind, and became material to  
 existence. They had temples consecrated  
 to Venus at Cytheria and Olympus, and  
 there issued springs from the bosom of the  
 earth which promoted vigour, and excited  
 inclination. Intercourse between the sexes  
 was encouraged by the Cyprians, and that  
 passion which softens tyrants and dictates  
 to the most ferocious was cherished and  
 enjoyed. The most tender and susceptible  
 excitements of the breath were lively and  
 unfettered, while reciprocal and unsolicited  
 endear-

endearments kindled and stimulated desire. Nature, thus invigorated by mutual sympathy, uncontrolled by cold phlegmatic rule, was taught to flow in channels of ecstacy, revolving and unbounded. At this day, the females of Cyprus possess all the allurements and incitements of fancy, and we cannot forget, in their figure and shape, the elegance and symmetry of their fair progenitors, who were wont to sacrifice so freely and abundantly at the altar of Venus. These lascivious and enticing Messalinas remind us of the Poet's description :

- “ Age cannot wither her, or custom stale
- “ Her infinite varieties: Other women cloy
- “ The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry
- “ Where most she satisfies.”

Far from applauding the “ soft delusion,” which tends only to weaken the mind, and overpower the understanding, I shall take leave of the Cyprian damsels, and leave them in the full enjoyment of their libertinism and gaiety. Their prominent beauties, which so fairly entitle them to our admiration from particular circumstances, becomes less inviting,

ing, and makes us reject their embraces, not only as dangerous, but disgusting to the pure spirit of virtuous and connubial love.

At seven o'clock in the evening we left this once-delightful island, returned on board, and with a light breeze at N. N. E. we set sail at ten P. M. for Latachea.

25th. The wind was easterly, blowing strong, with a high sea. At six in the evening we found Cape Greco bearing N. N. E. distant two or three leagues. Lat. 34. 49.

26th. This morning the wind southerly, blowing hard. Made the Coast of Syria; and shortly afterwards we had sight of Latachea. The pilot was now consulted whether he would undertake, under the circumstances of a strong gale, to make the port of Latachea, considering the narrowness of the harbour, and its being much exposed to a heavy surge. The pilot offered to make the attempt, but the prudence of the Captain determined him to delay it till next morning, when we expected a change of weather.

27th. The wind this morning changed to the west, which made the attempt still more impracticable. We therefore continued on the coast of Syria, in expectation of more favourable

vourable weather to enter the harbour, which we had understood from all quarters to be extremely difficult and dangerous so late in the season.

28th. To our great disappointment, the wind all night continued strong at west, with a very high sea. We had now no alternative, but that of bearing away, at four in the morning, for the bay of Scandaroon. At sun-rise we attempted to enter the mouth of the bay, but soon perceived we had made a mistake, and in tacking the vessel we were nearly on shore. We now stood in for the road, and at three o'clock in the afternoon came to an anchor. As soon as the vessel was properly secured, Mr. Blackader, Captain Crosbie, and myself, landed at Scandaroon. We were conducted to the house of the English agent, and received by him in the Turkish dress. We were entertained with coffee and pipes, in the eastern style, and visited by several of the principal Turks, immediately in the service of government: they came to learn the news of the war between the Emperor and the Porte. As we had but little to communicate that could afford them satisfaction, we were not very forward



forward in yielding the information they required.

It was formerly the custom to have a Consul here, under that of Aleppo, but of late years, owing to the duty of trade, it has been judged sufficient to have only a person as factor or agent appointed by our Consul at Aleppo, to transact the business of the English nation. We found a Frenchman of the name of Castillon in the office. He has resided at Scandaroon for many years, and appeared a polite, obliging man, but much tinged with the Turkish gravity, and indeed his appearance bespoke so much of the character, that I was at a loss to which nation really to ascribe him. Having opened our business, and receiving an assurance of providing for our journey without delay, we took our leave to return on board, though not till after his obligingly offering accommodations at his house. This place is also called Alexandretta : it is esteemed the seaport of Aleppo ; but, from certain information, Latachea is much better entitled to this distinction. The natural indolence and want of energy in the Turkish government, in not extirpating the banditti that infest the  
road



road between Aleppo and Latachea, particularly the Curds, who inhabit the higher parts of Syria to the northward, and are declared enemies to the Turks, gives preference to the port of Scandaroon. These men are equally brave in defending themselves, as they are in the attack of caravans. When the Turks are victorious, their heads pay for the offence; but they are not anxious to engage the Curds in equal combat. Parties of their horse have been frequently seen within a mile of Aleppo; and it is unsafe at all times to be more than three or four miles distant from the city without a guard. Their women are armed, and left to defend their encampment when they ride in search of plunder, but which is generally fixed in some concealed place. On a recent occasion these ladies repelled the attack of a party of Turkish cavalry. In former ages the borders of the Euxine had its nation of Amazons. We read of Pentheselia and Thalestris in the days of Priam and Alexander, and we discover in the tribe of the Curds that their race is not yet extinguished in the East. Such are the banditti to be apprehended in your journey through Syria.

The

The bay and road of Scandaroon has particular advantages over the Port Latachea. This harbour is extremely narrow, and exposed to the strong westerly winds. The entrance is only capable of admitting one vessel at a time, and that of inconsiderable burden. In violent weather, and particularly in westerly winds, which blow in the winter, it is frequently impossible to bring up the small craft that resort hither, and consequently they run on the sand, and are sometimes bulged. On the other hand, Scandaroon can at all seasons be visited with security, as the road is safe, and as there is a good beach for landing. I must however remark, in the summer season there is a frequent communication kept up between Cyprus and Latachea, at which time there is no danger, and large boats are to be hired for fifty or sixty piaftres, that will run you over, with a tolerable wind, in thirty-six hours. Here we have a Consul regularly appointed; and from the circumstances already mentioned, is a place of considerable trade, with a neighbourhood abounding with many remains of antiquity to gratify the taste and curiosity of travellers.

Notwithstanding the disadvantage of the harbour of Latachea in the winter, it is by much the most eligible port, provided the commander of your vessel or boat will undertake to carry you in. The pilots procured at Latachea are esteemed able, although I cannot pay this compliment to ours, as I verily believe his incapacity or want of resolution occasioned our bearing away for Scandaroon. This man was hired at thirty piaf-tres only, one half of what others demanded; and it is probable, had our Captain given more, and employed an abler pilot, we would have saved two days, and got into Latachea, in place of Scandaroon.

In the summer the inhabitants of all the districts situated in the vicinity of any of the gulfs of the Levant are particularly subject to intermittent fevers. Those of Scandaroon are more particularly so from the marshes and swamps surrounding the town in every direction—a circumstance which, in summer, renders Latachea preferable, although the stay of a traveller is generally so short that little danger can be apprehended.

The morning of the 29th we landed our baggage, after having given amongst the crew

crew every thing that was unnecessary to the land expedition we had before us.

Monsieur Castillon being under the necessity of sending to the country for horses, we proposed taking a view of the place and its environs. We dispatched an express messenger to Mr. Devezin, the British Consul at Aleppo, for whom we had letters from Mr. Ritchie at Venice, requesting him to prepare a caravan and necessaries for the journey, if no regular caravan offered at the time. The expence of a messenger is something about five piastrres, a moderate sum for so long a distance.

Farther than what I have already noticed, this place has little to boast of. The houses are in general extremely bad, and the Buzar shockingly dirty and inconvenient. The town is quite defenceless: the Turkish governor hoists a flag on his house, which has something the appearance of a fortification, without being so: the whole number of houses does not exceed two hundred, including the meanest hovel. The situation is still more miserable than the town itself. I have already observed, it is surrounded on every side, excepting towards the sea, by

marshes, which in the hot season is productive of troublesome and tedious disorders; to avoid which, the inhabitants of any distinction retire to the neighbouring town of Beilan, situated in the adjoining mountains, where they enjoy a much purer air. I was astonished to observe the principal Turks look healthy, whilst all the Europeans and strangers were emaciated by the unwholesome climate. Here the French and Venetians have Consuls, and indeed the trade is divided chiefly between them. We found several ships belonging to both nations at anchor in the roads.

Our Cicerone, who was a Frenchman, conducted us to the Christian burying-ground, where I perceived many handsome monuments, particularly some in memory of our countrymen, dead more than a century ago. The ground is enclosed by a lofty wall, and you enter it by a door not higher than three feet: we were compelled to stoop to view these monuments of mortality.

We were shewn an ancient fortification, said to have been built by the Christians during the Crusades, and some time in their possession.

possession. No antiquities presented themselves to our observation. At a distance indeed of about three miles we were desired to look at something which had the appearance of pillars, and we were at the same time informed, that they go by the names of Jonas's pillars, from its being the identical spot where he was disgorged from the belly of the whale. We were anxious to visit a place of such scriptural antiquity, and requested the company of our guide, who was very obliging and communicative, and an amateur of the English language. This man, with a very significant shrug, assured us, that the journey was utterly impracticable, for the troops of the rebel Pacha of Payas was in possession of the ground, in order to watch the motions of the Turks from this quarter. He at the same time added, that he had lately occasioned the death of an English captain and two of his seamen, and gave the following account, which was afterwards confirmed to us :—

Payas is a pretty extensive territory, situated at the extremity of the Bay of Scanderoon, whereof the capital, a sea-port, goes by the same name. This place is substan-



tially fortified by strong walls, flanked by bastions of solid masonry. The district is governed by a Pacha under the Grand Seignior, and tributary to the Porte. Since the commencement of the Russian and German war, the ruling Pacha rebelled against the authority of the Empire, and had for some time bid defiance to its commands, and orders had been repeatedly sent to the neighbouring Pacha, to send his head to Constantinople.

The Payas country is, from situation, naturally strong, mountainous, and rocky, and the Pacha had been able to defend himself both in the fort and in the hills against his adversaries. He constantly plunders all passengers, particularly pilgrims going to, or returning from Mecca, and was of late the terror of the adjoining country.

The commander of a small brig, of the name of Fowlis, repaired in his boat with four of his crew, some time in the month of August last, to take water for his vessel at a small spring near to the pillars; on his landing, he was surrounded by a body of armed men belonging to the Pacha of Payas, who plundered him of his money, and every thing  
of

of value about his person. The officer who commanded the party detained him till orders arrived from his master, when they were all ordered prisoners to the fort, where they were confined, put in irons, and treated in the harshest manner.

The view of the rebel was to gain the sum of 4,000 piastrés, at which he valued his ransom. In consequence of the severity exercised on these unhappy people, the Captain and two of the seamen died; the Pacha, finding himself disappointed in his hopes, granted liberty to the remaining two.

On the relation of this narrative, a reflection naturally occurred, that Mr. Fowlis should have been made acquainted of the danger of resorting to that spot, as water, though perhaps not so good, was to be had in the neighbourhood of Scandaroon. To this suggestion I was assured by Mr. Castillon, that he had repeatedly and earnestly warned him of the consequences; but the high idea he entertained of the British character suggested it a sufficient passport over the world, especially when his nation was not engaged in any war. It is evident that this idea may be carried to excess.

To a British subject it is a matter of some moment to learn what steps were taken for his release ; but it may be asked what steps could be taken where a barbarous and unfeeling rebel was the party principally interested? Only one in this situation seemed at all practicable, viz. to pay the ransom ; and there is but few who would advance a sum of this kind to a man without property, and perhaps without any prospect of being again repaid.

I was at some trouble to discover the real means attempted on this occasion to obtain the enlargement of the unfortunate prisoner. Sir Robert Ainslie, our Ambassador at the Porte, Mr. Devezin, British Consul, and Monf. Castillon, were the principal agents. All I could learn was, that Sir Robert found great fault with the Consul's negociation with the Pacha. On mentioning the subject to Mr. Devezin at Aleppo, he requested of Mr. Blackader and me to afford him what information we could on the subject, for the Ambassador's information, and perhaps for his own exculpation. Nothing could be done without the advance of money, and I did not find that Sir Robert Ainslie gave any authority

thority for so doing, and Mr. Devezin did not choose to trust to the Levant Company for his reimbursement. It is true repeated orders were procured from the Porte for their release, but those orders were of no effect in the country of Payas. To negotiate the business with Mr. Devezin, on the part of Captain Fowlis, a young man was permitted by the Pacha to visit Aleppo. The narrative sworn to by him was nearly as before related: the bad treatment he had received occasioned a severe fever; on his recovery he proceeded to Great Britain in a ship from Scandaroon bound to Venice. In whatever manner this business ended, I am afraid but little reparation was received for the injury and insult.

We returned to our factor's house to dinner, which was served up in the French style, although intermixed with many of the Eastern dishes. In the afternoon we settled with our Captain, and after an early supper we retired to rest, being accommodated with a tolerable bed by Monsr. Castillon.

In the morning we found this gentleman busily employed in landing goods from an English brig, consigned to Mr. Smith at Aleppo,

Aleppo, and which we found at anchor on our arrival: he informed us that the place was visited by six or seven annually.

On inquiring for our horses, we were promised them at one o'clock. It was accordingly determined to dine early. In walking along the strand, we entered a small encampment of Turks from Mecca: they were on the return to Smyrna and its neighbourhood, and wished much for a sea conveyance, from the dread of the Pacha of Payas, through whose country they had to pass. Their appearance was much the same as that of the better kind of Moormen we meet with in India; their dress, arms, and tents, and in general their appearance, differed but little from their brethren in that quarter: their complexions were somewhat fairer, and I apprehend they were clothed more after the dress of the people of Mecca than that of the Turks.

After having sufficiently fatigued ourselves, we returned home about twelve o'clock. After dinner, we were supplied with horses, and four were allotted for our baggage, which we had by this time considerably reduced, by leaving every incumbrance

brance on board the brig, and trusting to Aleppo for a fresh supply.

For these horses we were charged at the enormous rate of forty piastres for two days journey to Antioch, besides a present for the attendants.

A guide was procured for us, who was also to be supplied with a horse, and to receive fourteen piastres on discharging and returning our cattle. This man was a Mahometan, and seemed a good-natured imposing fellow. Indeed, he evinced himself so in every situation; he was very attentive to us, and particularly careful that nobody else should cheat us of our money but himself.

The 30th of November, at three o'clock, we mounted the most wretched cattle I ever saw: they were of a small breed, and most dreadfully supplied with old Turkish saddles, very hard and uncomfortable.

The caution given in the beginning of this narrative, to take especial care to be provided with good saddles and bridles before leaving England, will here be brought to remembrance.

Monf. Castillon, in his Turkish habit, was mounted on a very handsome spirited horse,  
and



and accompanied us a few miles : we proceeded over a kind of causeway across the swamps, and approached the foot of the mountains, distant about four miles from Scandaroon, when our friend, the Turkish Frenchman, took his leave.

We now ascended high and rugged mountains till half past six, and it was nearly dusk when we arrived at Beilan, the first stage, distant from Scandaroon eight or nine miles. The road all the way appeared to me impracticable for any carriage, although of a tolerable breadth. We alighted at a poor house, provided for us by our guide Mahomet, and it was with some difficulty we could procure either light or firing. The room allotted us was by much inferior to a hay-loft in England, without even a carpet or indeed furniture of any kind. We procured a few eggs, on which we supped. We had taken care to lay in a small stock of wine and some cold roasted fowls, enough to last us the time we expected to be on the road.

The town and district of Beilan is governed by a Pacha, to whom the Mosleem of Scandaroon had notified our being travellers to Aleppo. This place is the most romantic

romantic I ever saw ; situated in the middle of the mountains that rise over the stagnant waters and unwholesome marshes of that port ; thither the inhabitants in the summer and autumn fly for shelter from the noxious vapours that are exhaled from them, and benefit by the pureness and salubrity of the air. Here all is cool and agreeable, whilst the atmosphere of the plain below is filled with disease, and conveys certain destruction to every stranger, and even to the natives themselves.

The houses in this village are placed in the most singular and in the most irregular way it is possible to conceive ; the ground floor of one being frequently higher than the roof of the adjoining house, and in this manner it is throughout a continued variety. A thousand little streams run from the mountains, and exhibit a most pleasing prospect to the eye ; it refreshes while you gaze on the small cataracts and the rudeness of the scene. The simple yet bold varieties of Nature which are here disclosed afford both sublimity and grandeur, fills the mind with contemplation on the stupendous works of creation,

creation, and leaves us equally at a loss to account for their origin or continuance.

The inhabitants are few, and principally Syrians, who live by making butter and breeding sheep, goats, and fowls, all which they sell at Scandaroon, and to the shipping at that place. It may be easily conceived that they are miserably poor, but they possess content, which riches cannot give, and they derive health from the wholesomeness of their air.

With our beds spread on the floor, we enjoyed a tolerable nap till five next morning, having previously ordered our horses at six o'clock. The weather being cold, we were glad of a fire in the corner of our room, at which our servant made us some coffee. It was not till seven o'clock that our baggage was loaded on the horses, at which time we set forward: the expence of this night's indifferent lodging was a piaſtre for each of our party, which is the common price given by European travellers all over Syria.

The road lay through the higher part of the town, over some bridges, thrown across without ledges; these cataracts are very hazardous.

ardous to pass. Before leaving Beilan, we were joined by twenty men belonging to the Pacha, who preceded us a mile or two, and then returned back, after receiving a few paraus per man, as bukshish : this is a mere ceremony to obtain from travellers a trifling gratuity.

At nine o'clock we fell in with a small guard placed by the road side to protect passengers, by the orders of government. To these people a small present was likewise given : proceeding over the hills, the Lake of Antioch presented itself below. At eleven o'clock we reached the bottom, and moved on along the skirts of the lake towards a caravanferai built for the accommodation of travellers, and which contains at the same time a guard for the protection of the trade that passes backwards and forwards. This caravanferai is surrounded with a high and strong wall, forming nearly a square, and situated within a few yards of the road. To the right, an ancient castle gracefully displays itself on the side of a lofty mountain, still in tolerable condition, though uninhabited.

The fertile plains of Antioch here opens  
on

on all sides, and reminds us of the former fruitfulness of the soil, before the oppression of the Turkish government was felt in this devoted land. For the first time, we beheld the tribes of wandering Arabs in their encampments, attending their numerous herds of cattle, the pasture intermixed with beautiful flowers, yielding them a delicious repast. The Arabs appeared totally indifferent to us, harmless, and inoffensive.

Before approaching a small river about five miles distant from the city of Antioch, we perceived three horsemen approaching our party. We had been luckily joined by two of the Turkish cavalry in their way to Aleppo, who had, in a friendly manner, agreed to accompany us. The sight of the horsemen roused our Janizaries: they loaded their carbines and pistols, and placing a number of cartridges in the folds of their turbans, set forward on a hand-gallop, accompanied by Mr. Blackader and myself. We were received by the horsemen with a smile, and after a few compliments they took their leave. Our friendly Turks informed us they were well known to them, and three of the most notorious robbers in the whole country;

country ; adding, that if luckily we had not been armed, they would not have left us a rag to cover us. Whether this was intended to convey an idea of their own consequence, or to intimidate us, I cannot positively say, but they appeared to me the most civil robbers I ever heard of. These men were well armed and mounted, and seemingly well fitted for the purpose of depredation. Our guide, Mahomet, also confirmed the intelligence of the Turks.

At four o'clock we crossed the river Orontes, or Affi, over an ancient bridge to the gate of Antioch, now called Antakea by the Turks. We were stopped for a few minutes to give an account of ourselves, and then permitted to pass. We were conducted by our guide to a caravanserai, where we took up our abode. The accommodation of travellers in all countries which have the smallest pretension to civilization has uniformly become an object of public attention, more particularly in the East, where the bonds of society were first cemented, and commerce and intercourse encouraged and protected.

Of this truth, the plains of India afford the most convincing proof: over all that



widely-extended country, public as well as private munificence has contributed largely to this convenience. The Choultries of the Carnatic and the Serais of Hindostan impress this conviction strongly on our mind.

In the days of the Caliphs, caravanserais were not neglected, and we can trace the ruins of many which the barbarisms of the Turks and their unaccommodating manners have nearly consigned to oblivion. What yet remain are commodious, and well calculated both for the repose of the traveller and the safety of his property.

It is by no means difficult to an observing mind to trace the progress of improvement in this as well as in other instances. We owe to the Crusaders of the 11th and 12th centuries the introduction of our own Serais, which are a faithful copy of those in Syria and Palestine. Surrounded with lofty walls, with massy gates, and not exceeding two stories in height, the upper part of the building is divided into separate chambers for the use of itinerants, and the lower part appropriated for the reception of baggage and merchandize: to each apartment there is a separate

rate key. The keeper of the principal gate has the privilege of selling coffee, and pipes and tobacco, to allay the fatigue of the wearied traveller. For these accommodations the price is a piaſtre for each perſon, beſides any extra charge for neceſſaries required. Let this deſcription be compared with the old inns in the city of London, when a ſtriking reſemblance will be diſcovered; and their origin traced to the real ſource.

On our arrival at the caravanſerai, we were ſoon ſurrounded by a concourſe of people, who, from curioſity, came to view Europeans in the dreſs of their country, for at this time we had not aſſumed the Eaſtern mode. This curioſity bordered ſtrongly on impertinence. They handled every thing they ſaw, and I was in doubts whether every article of our baggage would not have been pillaged by this rascally ſet, as the Antakeans are notorious in Syria for their diſhoneſty. The plated buttons on my coats they miſtook for ſilver; and this circumſtance afforded amongſt themſelves matter for ſevere altercation whether they were made of that metal or not.

I procured a room, with a padlock and key, as ſpeedily as poſſible, where I ordered our baggage to be depoſited; and recollect-

ing I had a letter for an Armenian, who acts as agent for the English nation, I dispatched a messenger, hoping, from this introduction, to fare something better than what present appearances bespoke. We were now served with coffee, the best thing to be had at these places; when a man, venerable in appearance, approached us with much civility, requesting us to make use of his apartments. We accepted his invitation, and found the room much more comfortable than our own. It was clean, and spread with carpets; on the wall hung his arms, in perfect order. He was, like ourselves, a traveller, and his countenance bespoke more of the milk of human kindness than is usually met with in those regions. He talked of joining our party, if we would wait for one day; gave us his pipe, and seemed to take some concern in our fate. Our business requiring dispatch, we declined remaining longer in such an unfavourable place, and determined to proceed in the morning. By this time a messenger arrived to conduct us to the house of the Armenian. My servant was left in charge of our things, and after taking leave of our good old friend, and requesting him to join us in the morning, we quitted the detestable caravanserai,

caravanferai, and arrived in half an hour at the house of our inviter.

The city of Antioch, once so famous, owed its origin to the dismemberment of the empire of Alexander. When the death of that prince had terminated his glory, there was no successor of equal enterprize or magnanimity to occupy his throne. The leading captains of his army determined to seize on, and to divide amongst themselves, the empire of the world, which he had acquired by military skill and unexampled perseverance. The kingdom of Syria was at this time governed by Seleucas Nicator, who easily assumed the government, and laid the foundation of the Syro-Macedonian Empire. It was an object of the first importance to Seleucas to have a capital proportioned to the magnitude of his newly-acquired kingdom; and he fixed on a spot on the right bank of the river Orontes, eighteen miles from the Mediterranean Sea, where he built the city of Antioch, and adorned it with all the beauty and elegance of Grecian architecture. The refinements of luxury were, in those days, carried to an enormous height; and in particular, the orgies of Venus were, in a cli-

mate congenial to the soft desires of love, held in the highest estimation. The groves of Daphne were famous for being the asylum of Nicator, and the seat of voluptuous enjoyment. In after-times this seat of pleasure and effeminacy was prohibited to the Roman soldiers, lest it should enervate and seduce them from their duty. Daphne was five miles distant from Antioch, and within the labyrinth of its shadowy bowers, it contained a temple sacred to Apollo and Diana, but at this moment not a vestige is to be discovered. War, the scourge of humanity, and famine and earthquakes have frequently desolated this delightful city. Formerly it had a port of considerable importance on the north bank of the Orontes, and on the shores of the Levant; but the harbour is choaked up, and there is not a single inhabitant remains. The sun of Antioch is set. The present city is a miserable place, extending four hundred yards from the side of the river to the bottom of a mountain, on the summit of which, and round the town, the Crusaders, during their being in possession of Syria, built a strong wall. Nothing remains of its ancient grandeur besides some stupendous  
caufeways



caufeways and mafly gateways of hewn ftone. The ftreets are fhockingly dirty, narrow, and the houfes mean and low, and it is only reforted to by the caravans of Aleppo, Latakea, and Scandaroon. The direct road from Aleppo to thefe ports is in the poffeffion of the Curds, which obliges the merchants to go feveral miles out of their way by taking Antioch in their route. It is allowed on all hands that the river Orontes might be made navigable for boats of a large conftruction: the ftream is rapid, but they could be towed up againft it, and from this circumftance it might become a place of trade and confequence. But we muft not look for energy amongft the Turks; and the Syrians never poffeffed it. Before this can be accomplifhed, the kingdom of Syria muft pafs into the hands of fome new conqueror, who will give birth to enterprife and induftry. The bridge over the Orontes is low and inelegant, confifting of five arches. According to the tradition, St. Paul was baptized in this river. Whether this be the cafe or not, a diflike to Chriftians is ftongly implanted in the inhabitants of this city; and it was the only place where we fuffered any



indignity, or even the smallest appearance of incivility.

In proceeding to the caravanferai we had the mortification to be spit at, with the appellation of " Christian dogs !" Mrs. Taylor was seized by the arm, and attempted to be pulled from her horse with a degree of brutal violence: one of the servants luckily held her fast, but her arm bore evident testimony of the rude manner in which the men made the attempt. My Italian servant was seized by the coat, but a spirited stroke from his horsewhip made the fellow quit his hold. The Black was more roughly treated, and he had the imprudence to present his pistol at one of the most daring. I severely reprehended him for his folly, considering the brutality of the people, and their dislike to Christians; if any accident had happened, it would have most undoubtedly proved fatal to the whole party. In turning the corner of a street, a young fellow attempted to snatch away my whip; neither did he relinquish it till after some struggle between us. I have given some features of the inhabitants of Antioch, and what a traveller may expect. I would advise avoiding the town, and rather

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to seek any shelter than so inhospitable a place. A tent would have been a thousand times preferable, but this we had not. Another thing that perhaps made against us, was the European dress: it would be therefore better to appear *à la Turque* as soon as possible after your arrival in Syria.

The Armenian received us politely in his hall of audience, and welcomed us to his house. He was in company with two or three more of his religion, smoking the Turkish pipe, with a bottle of anniseed-water before him, from which he and his friends made frequent libations. Being seated on a carpet in the Eastern style, he ordered our baggage to his house, and a repast to be prepared. After having assisted us in settling with the guide for the hire of our horses, he very civilly requested we would refresh ourselves for a day or two with him; this we declined, and requested his interference to procure us cattle in the morning at an early hour: orders were accordingly given, with every promise of assistance on his part.

At seven o'clock supper was announced: it consisted of several dishes, composed chiefly of fish dressed in different ways, according  
to

to the mode of the country: they were placed on a large silver waiter, raised about a foot from the carpet, on which the company sat in a circular manner. Our party consisted of our host, the old Armenian, his son, one of his friends, and ourselves. Abundance of bread was thrown at the feet of the guests; but there was neither knife, fork, nor spoon. Our entertainer helped the company liberally with his right hand, which he had previously washed for the purpose. The mode in which this repast was conducted appeared to us truly laughable. The hearty way our friend dived his hand, with the sleeve of his gown tucked up to his elbow, into a large dish, and transferred it with some violence to our plates, and this too without asking or waiting our consent, formed a striking contrast to the delicacy of European manners. Notwithstanding this seeming want of cleanliness, great regard was paid to ablution. Water from a silver ewer and clean towels were served the company both before and after supper. Our drink consisted of thick wine of the country, something resembling bad Madeira before it is made fine by the usual operation. The anniseed-

anniseed-water was by no means forgotten ; and upon the whole we made a very tolerable meal. Supper being ended, the company retired to the opposite corner of the room, where pipes were prepared. After a short time spent in this way, we were visited by an itinerant Italian physician, dressed in a most whimsical manner ; he wore a very formal wig, with a cocked hat, large whiskers, a red silk Turkish gown, under which appeared some other clothes, partly European, and partly Turkish. He was extremely inquisitive for news, particularly of the war between the Emperor and the Turks. He assured me, that all Syria would rejoice at the success of the former, as it yielded the inhabitants a faint prospect of better masters and better times. This poor man seemed sensibly affected at the miseries of the Syrians, of whom he spoke handsomely, and added, that their poverty prevented the effects of their generosity towards him. He was extremely desirous to return to Italy ; but, alas ! like many others, he had outlived his friends, and was now doomed to roam through the plains of Syria, in order to pick up a miserable pittance by his skill in curing

curing the disorders incident to these inhospitable climes. He appeared to be respected by our host, though I afterwards understood, that, like a number of vagrants and wanderers of his country, some *faux-pas* of his youth was more than an objection against visiting his native land. To the honour of the English nation, adventurers of doubtful history from foreign countries are every where to be met with in all parts of the Turkish Empire, whilst we rarely find an Englishman, who, like them, are grovelling in a country of slaves, exposed to scorn, and liable to every insult degrading to the human mind.

The physician having taken leave, with many compliments and wishes for our success, chairs were placed in the area of the building, which, like all the Eastern houses of consequence, was surrounded by a high wall, secured with a strong gate. Here the smoking was continued, and we were joined by an Armenian, who appeared as the droll or merry-andrew of the family. He displayed numberless antick gestures, and possibly expressed many witty sayings, if I may judge from the immoderate mirth of the spectators, for the language I did not understand.



derstand. This amusement continued till ten o'clock, when beds or mattresses were spread on the carpet of the hall, with comfortable pillows, and we laid ourselves down to rest.

The variety of this day would have afforded ample compensation for its fatigues, could the unpleasant sensation that remained on our minds, arising from the conduct of the people of Antioch, have been effaced. Snug within our castle, for such is the house of every man in this country, we rejoiced in being no longer subject to those insults and impertinences to which, remaining at the caravan-serai, undoubtedly would have subjected us; and we were happy to think that the morning's fun would convey us from a place we had so much reason to detest.

Early the next day coffee was served by a very pretty Armenian girl, daughter-in-law to our host. She was fair, and seemed by her little attentions desirous to please; her fine black hair hung down her back in a hundred small plaits, whilst her forehead and breast were adorned with chequins connected together by a string. Her dress consisted of

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the Turkish drawers, and a long robe, which from her neck reached to her heels, made of a kind of silk and cotton stuff, intermixed with flowers of gold. She wore no covering on her head, and, unlike those of her sect in India, no handkerchief to cover her mouth. On her feet she had a pair of Turkish slippers, which she pulled off as she approached the company of the men. She did not eat or even sit down to table with her husband; but what was to me still more astonishing, was, to perceive this seemingly delicate woman solacing herself in the morning with a plentiful cup of anniseed-water. My fair countrywomen will, no doubt, condemn the slavery in which the Eastern ladies are maintained, and pleasingly reflect on the difference of their situation, which at once stamps them the companion of man, formed to be the partner of his cares, a relief to his woes, and the support and comfort of his old age. Continue then by your conduct to deserve that admiration so deservedly your due, and to support that character which places you so distinguishedly above all your sex. whether in the foreign Courts of Europe, the sequestered

tered apartments of Eastern monarchs, or the more humble walks of middling life, wherever it is found.

Our guide, who requested to accompany us to Aleppo, appeared at half past six o'clock with the same number of horses as before, for which the bargain was settled at fifty piastras; the baggage was loaded and every thing in readiness a little after seven o'clock. Our host advised us to walk to the outskirts of the town, in order to avoid the like insults we had before met with amongst the Turks. Near to the tomb of the Prophet, and in Palestine, where Christians seldom resort, they are interdicted from appearing on horseback, or from wearing green, the favourite colour of Mahomet; but in commercial cities riding on horseback is generally permitted. This recommendation we most willingly complied with, but, after all, we did not entirely escape the malice of the people; the boys, as we passed the streets, called us by the vilest epithets, nor could the protection or interposition of the Armenian agent who accompanied us prevent it. It was not till eight o'clock that we took  
leave

leave of our conductor, and mounted our horses to proceed on our journey.

The city of Antioch at different times suffered severely from the rage of bigotry and superstition, inseparably attached to the zealots of the 12th and 13th centuries, when the spirit of enthusiasm, roused by designing priests, induced the powers of Europe to attempt the reduction of Syria and the Holy Land. The remembrance of the hardships and cruelties imposed at this period have been handed down from father to son, from generation to generation, and this deep-rooted unalterable prejudice has

“Grown with their growth,  
“And strenghtened with their strength.”

At this day its effects are visible. Nothing but a free intercourse with European nations can wear out the venom of detestation in which they hold us; little addicted to trade, proud, revengeful, and villanous to notoriety, there is little chance of alteration whilst the government remains in the hands of the Turks, and where such latitude is given to plunder and depredation.

After

After some time, passing along the remains of an old caufeway, we quitted the ancient boundaries of Antioch, through a maffy gateway, built of hewn ftone, ftill pretty entire, and with the Lake on our left, began to move along the foot of fome rifing ground which lay on our right hand.

Adieu to Antioch, the former refidence of monarchs, on whose nod depended the fate of millions : the feat of learning and politeness, famous from the first ages of the Chriftian æra for the licentious fpirit of its inhabitants, the effeminacy of their manners, their guilt and turbulence.

The Syrians of the capital, naturally indolent and diffolute, were enervated with excefs of pleafure, and whilst they tafted the delicious poifon, their minds were ftongly tinctured with the fpirit of fedition. Ever diffatisfied with their fituation, frequently has the rod of chaftifement been prepared for the people of Antioch, and the juft wrath of the Emperor Theodofius had doomed the city to be degraded from the capital to a fubordinate village, deprived of its revenues and its privileges, had not the more temperate meafures of Hellibutus and Cesa-

rius prevailed on the Emperor to grant a free and a general pardon.

Whilst I traced the ancient boundary of the city, still marked by a strong wall, winding to the top of a high and rocky mountain, I could not omit to bewail the fatal end of all human grandeur, and the sad reverse of pomp, pride, and ostentation. Antioch, the gayest city of the earth, the birth-place of the sophist Libanius, the residence of Julian and of Empire, now dwindled to an inconsiderable town, inhabited by an illiberal set of men, whose unlettered and barbarous minds triumph over the spirit of learning and genius. The eloquence of St. John was here unrivalled, and Antioch has produced the ablest and best writers of the first ages of Christianity.

As we continued to ascend the rising ground above Antioch, we were met by a party of Turkish cavalry, proceeding against the rebel Pacha of Payas. This detachment appeared well clothed and armed, and tolerably mounted. They were led by an officer, who came gently along smoking his pipe on horseback. We accosted him in the Eastern style, which he politely returned. One of his soldiers observing some  
cold

cold meat in a basket, requested the leg of a fowl, which was immediately given to him. I always found the Turkish soldiers open in their communications, generous in their disposition, and free from the vulgar and enthusiastic prejudices common to their religion. Our travelling companions, the Janizaries, already taken notice of, daily invited us to partake of their bread and fruit. In return, our wine and meat was to them a grateful present, and I found hospitality, good humour, and complacency, blended in men trained to the profession of arms, and inhabiting a country where the mild manners of cultivated society had been exchanged for the ferocious bigotry of fanatic Mahomedans and the Scythian manners of the predatory Turcoman.

Riding slowly on in front of our little caravan, my mind insensibly reverted to the former flourishing state of Syria. I fancied delightful situations, once the abode of greatness and power, and figured on either hand palaces and temples, groves and fountains. I was at once transported from a neglected country to the fairest province of the Eastern hemisphere. My reverie was interrupted by

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the appearance of a rapid stream, where it was necessary to halt for the caravan. On the opposite side stood a small village, inhabited by people whose decent occupation was to cultivate the ground, and whose simple manners impressed the idea of primitive ages, yet were they not without their afflictions. The hardy Turcomans frequently occupied the banks of the river and plundered the Aleppo caravans, whilst they obliged the neighbouring villages to supply themselves and their horses with whatever they stood in need.

The country had as yet afforded but little appearance of cultivation: here and there the husbandman attended his plough, whilst large herds of sheep and cattle roamed over a grateful and luxuriant soil, capable of producing every thing that nature could require or even delicacy demand.

On the arrival of our party, I was happy to recognise the benign countenance of our venerable friend who so cordially received us at Antioch. He was mounted on a strong little horse, and was attended by a servant, who on another rode behind him. On his servant's back was slung his master's carbine, and he carried

carried in his hand a Turkish scymeter: the old man had his girdle provided with a handsome pistol; at his wrist hung a trusty sword, the companion of his youth, and now the pride of his old age. In a barbarous and ill-regulated country it is necessary for men to arm and collect against the depredator and assassin, and we now found our caravan considerably augmented since our quitting the sea coast. The principle of self-defence is implanted not only in the human but in the animal creation; instinct supplies the want of reason in the brutes, and teaches them to look for safety either in their courage, their cunning, the swiftness of their foot, or in a collected body. The great Author of our being has wisely allotted to all his creation whatever is most aptly suited to the temper, or best adapted to the welfare of his creatures: whether the haughty and imperious man, who boldly assumes the superiority of the world, or the creeping insect, whose transitory existence endureth but a few days.

Transported to the opposite side of the river in an aukward boat, my aged friend and I slowly approached a delightful country, which presented itself at the distance of a

few miles ; the fields had been recently covered with grain, whilst the olive tree afforded a plentiful harvest : the cotton-bush appeared in high vigour and great abundance. To me this spot was, of all I had yet seen or afterwards saw, the paradise of Syria : industry appeared evidently the cause of so much regularity, and of the beauty displayed on the face of the country. The quantity of game which we observed, particularly partridges, bespoke the labour of the husbandman : abundance seemed to reward the peasant for his toil, and nature appeared arrayed in smiles. A drizzling rain accompanied us to Salkend, the principal village of the district, whither our guide had galloped on to provide lodgings for the night.

The unhappy state of the country, and the still more wretched state of Turkish policy, obliges the Syrians to live together in considerable numbers, and to choose situations inaccessible to cavalry, in order to prevent as much as possible the incursions of the Kurds, who make frequent visits to the plains of Syria.

On our approaching the village, our attention was attracted by the appearance of many  
well-

well-cultivated gardens: Plenty appeared to have fixed her abode in this spot, and I for a moment forgot that I was in the land of tyranny and oppression.

Ascending the height on which the village stood, we were met by our guide, who conducted us to a house he had provided for our reception.

The upper part was allotted for our residence: it consisted of a long hall with a fireplace at one end; it had recently served as the granary of the family. Being cleaned out, and mats spread, a good fire was prepared to dry our clothes, and orders given for a plentiful meal. It was now three o'clock, and we had tasted little since our leaving Antioch.

We were visited by the family, which consisted of an old man and his wife, their son and daughter-in-law, an aged grand-mother, and several young children.

It has often been remarked, that the soft effeminacy of the Syrians disposed them to a free indulgence of a passion so happily described as the most amiable weakness of human nature: born in a delightful climate and a prolific soil, which without the aid of labo-

rious servitude gratified the wishes and supplied the wants of the inhabitants, it is no wonder that the Syrians incline their thoughts to love: their extreme levity was described in lively colours by many with whom I conversed, and I trust that the caution with which I received the information, and my own want of credulity, will, in adding my testimony, be sufficient to engage the confidence of my readers when I speak of the Syrians as they are :

“ Nothing extenuate, or set down aught in malice.”

It is hardly to be believed that in a country which has any pretensions to the manners and customs of the present age, or even to the feelings of mankind, that the natives would readily connive or even consent to give up their wives and daughters to the embraces of a stranger; and I should be sorry of myself to stamp disgrace, or to affix a character on a people, were it not established from my own knowledge, and confirmed by the most unequivocal authorities \*. In this

\* Vide Campbell's Journey over-land, page 175, part 1st. And Plaisier, who travelled in 1747, mentions the same thing.

fact all travellers agree, both in the present day, as well as those of former times. But indeed this circumstance is not confined solely to the Syrians: it is the practice amongst different Indian tribes, and also in Lapland, where it is said, that, to mend the breed, for the Laplanders are extremely ugly, the husband makes an offer of his wife to a handsome stranger.

The extreme affability of the old ladies, whose falacious complexions were but badly supported by their age, disgusting red hair, and their indecent freedoms, was to me a matter of surprise. At supper we were joined by the children and wife of the young man: she was handsome and engaging, and it was not paradoxical that my companion was rather struck with her appearance. Our attention to her children, to whom we gave some different European coins, might possibly have excited her avarice: be that as it will, she enjoyed the banquet till it was time to retire to rest.

We had been abundantly supplied with eggs, milk, fowl, and kid, which, without our wine, afforded a tolerable repast. The bath was now prepared, and my companion retired



retired to the greatest luxury in the Eastern world. The bath in this village is far superior to the consequence of the place, and bespeaks better times. My friend's ablutions continued till after midnight, when he retired to prepare for the fatigues of the ensuing day.

We enjoyed tolerable repose till five o'clock the next morning, when it was time to arrange and to prepare ourselves for the journey. As I have already mentioned, the expence of lodging is a piastre for each person, to which we added a small present for the necessaries the family had afforded us. The poor people were highly pleased, and I believe had reason to regret our departure.

At half past seven we mounted our horses; several of the villagers came out of their houses to have a sight of Europeans in the drefs of their country: they particularly admired our English fire-arms, and it is not here improper to remark, that the natives are troublesome to a great degree in handling every thing of this nature; the lowest of them will, without ceremony, attempt to take from your girdle your pistol, spy-glass, or whatever may attract his notice. In this curiosity they no doubt should be checked.

I have

I have been told of some of these fellows making no scruple of taking advantage which possession gave them, and running off with the prize. There is a different conduct to be observed to the better kind of people, who will politely ask, and who should not be refused.

In all nations there is a wide distinction in point of manners between the inhabitants of towns and those of the country, and in none more than in Syria.

The farmers and peasants are mild, courteous, and primitive in their manners, affable to strangers, and disposed to oblige; whilst those who have a more familiar acquaintance with the world from inhabiting large towns and attending caravans are proud, presumptuous, insolent, and licentious: and I should advise all travellers to avoid any appearance of freedom or intimacy with people of this description. The least familiarity admits their taking liberties, which only serve to chagrin and disgust you with the journey.

We commenced this day's march by ascending a hilly road which continued for several miles, and terminated in the bosom  
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of some rugged mountains, where we could perceive some signs of cultivation; presently the report of a pistol was heard, and at the same time our caravan was ordered to halt: this detention proceeded from a post established here. It is in fact a custom-house, where a toll is paid on all merchandize and by all passengers, at the rate of so much on each load, whether it be that of a camel, horse, or ass. Here the territory of another Pacha commences, and who imposes this tax as a fund for protecting the traveller and his property from the depredations of freebooters; but I am sorry to say it is more a pretext to obtain money, than with a view to the protection of trade.

The sum exacted from us for ourselves and baggage amounted to two chequins. I understood from our guide that much more had been demanded, and it was not without some contention that we were permitted to depart so easily. The case cannot be otherwise where so much room is left for extortion and fraud, and where tyranny and oppression are substituted for regularity and good order.

The mountain we had now to ascend appeared

peared rugged and uneven, and it was with  
 some difficulty that our horses kept their  
 footing, the guides being in many places  
 under the necessity of leading them by the  
 bridle. Having got to the bottom, we tra-  
 versed a barren plain, and entering a defile,  
 were conducted to a delightful and well-cul-  
 tivated spot. It seemed encompassed as far  
 as the eye could reach by little hills, and ap-  
 peared sequestered and retired from the un-  
 cultivated waste which we had passed. The  
 inhabitants were very busily employed in til-  
 ling the ground: the soil was the richest I  
 ever saw, and mouldered in the same way as  
 the finest garden ground in Europe. At the  
 further end of the valley we passed through  
 the little village of Arminaz, surrounded  
 with neat fields and gardens, abounding with  
 fig and other fruit trees: this pleasing pro-  
 spect continued but a short time. It was now  
 a little past one o'clock, and the warmest  
 day we had experienced in Syria, when we  
 again immersed into another inhospitable  
 and desolate track. The hand of oppression  
 had here usurped its obdurate reign; the for-  
 saken villages bespoke the tyranny of the  
 government, and such was the state of uni-  
 versal

versal decay on many of them, that it appeared as if the inhabitants with one consent and on one day had agreed to leave a dwelling they could no longer possess with ease or safety, to quit the monuments of their fathers, and to seek new habitations in more distant climes, where they could enjoy undisturbed the scanty pittance denied them by the wretched policy and unjust extortion of the unfeeling Turks. As far as the sight could serve, not a human creature was to be seen; a continued plain only bounded by the horizon and the dismal prospect of the scattered and deserted villages, afforded to the mind but few agreeable or lively images. Moving quickly on to quit the dreary and uncomfortable scene, we overtook a small caravan guarded by some Turkish soldiers. Those merry fellows seemed desirous to please us, and to shew their dexterity, shot several small birds with single ball, at the distance of seventy or eighty yards. These they presented to us, and willingly and thankfully received a few paraahs in return: they were armed with match-locks, but clothed in no regular or uniform manner.

Mark

Mark Massereen now presented itself as the first inhabited village we had for a long time seen. At three P. M. we entered this place, where it was intended we should refresh ourselves for some hours. We were conducted to a tolerable good house, and received by a decent man both in appearance and deportment: he was at great pains to make our lodgings clean and agreeable. The apartment allotted us consisted of a long hall, on the floor of which plenty of new mats and some Turkey carpets were spread: a wood fire was lighted in the corner, and preparations made for a good dinner. In the interim, our friends, the Turkish soldiers, who occupied the adjoining room, invited us to partake of an exceeding fine water melon; being seated in a circular form on the carpet, the melon was produced and equally divided by the assistance of a scymeter, which served instead of a knife. We in return regaled those poor fellows with a couple of bottles of indifferent claret, with which they retired contentedly to sleep till after sun-set, when they intended to make their principal and indeed only meal. The mutual civilities interchanged by these people



ple and us was particularly pleasing; they were in point of appearance in their dress, their horses, and arms, of superior rank to that of a common Janizary, and their whole manner bespoke more refinement than could possibly be expected from an illiterate soldier. We could readily rely on their support, and it added much to our security and comfort in travelling, having the company of people so well inclined towards us as they on every occasion appeared to be.

We were given to understand the caravan we met would set out at eleven o'clock at night; it was therefore necessary to make the most of our time. This being the last stage to Aleppo, is particularly dangerous, and is generally performed in the night, to prevent an attack. The Turcoman retires in the evening to his sequestered camp hid in some obscure valley, where he may pass the night in safety with his family, to whose care it has been entrusted during his absence, and it is a known fact that these encampments have been gallantly defended against the Pacha's troops, by the valour of the women only. It cannot be contradicted that the female breast is capable of the greatest acts of heroism

roism and bravery. The existence of Amazons has been equally doubted and asserted by writers of antiquity : and even in more modern times the veracity of Columbus, the discoverer of America, has been called in question, when he affirms, that in the island of Guadaloupe he found a nation of female warriors, who obstinately and resolutely defended themselves against the embraces and the horrible propensities of the cannibal Caribbs, and who only, at stated periods, allowed and sought intercourses with men. We have, in our time, been witnesses of singular acts of determination and courage in women, of which the French revolution is a lively and striking example. Forgetful of the delicacy of their sex, they assumed the habits of man : they worked the artillery, and charged at the head of the cavalry, while others fought on foot, under the bellies of the Austrian horses, fearless either of the sabre or of being trodden to death. Wherever the faculties of the mind are most zealously and forcibly interested, in revolutions, conspiracy, or love, in all these cases fortitude is to be found in the female sex, equal,

if not superior, to what is discoverable in man. Amongst others may be instanced the two sisters who fought in the battle of Gemmappe, in the capacity of aides-de-camp to General Dumourier. Those female warriors were strongly recommended by that General to the President of the National Convention, and to the Minister of War, for their heroism and bravery. The Commissioners to the Army of the North report them in the following words:—"Above all, we  
 " must inform the Assembly, that we saw in  
 " the camp two sisters, Miss Felialas and  
 " Miss Theophila Fernic, who had distinguished themselves in several skirmishes, and had actions with the enemy;  
 " and who, in addition to a manly courage,  
 " displayed, in an eminent degree, the most  
 " amiable virtues of their own sex—mildness, sweetness of disposition, and modesty." I am afraid so much cannot be said for all the ladies who devote themselves to a camp life, and who partake voluntarily in the hardships of war.

Strange it is that these daring free-booters should be permitted to infest the vicinity of  
 a city

a city like Aleppo, and to approach within half a mile of the walls which enclose above sixty thousand inhabitants, including a regular military force.

After dinner Mr. Blackader and myself took a walk in the town. Not yet having quitted the European dress, we were regarded very attentively by the people of the place. Their impertinent curiosity became almost insupportable, and we were glad to retire, without being much benefited by our excursion, to enjoy a few hours repose previous to our departure.

This town is entirely open, and consists of a few tolerable houses, and about two hundred very bad ones. The place contains a pretty good hummum, and appears to be used principally as a halting-place for the caravans bound to and from Aleppo.

We were called a little past eleven o'clock, and by twelve we were ready to proceed. The morning was remarkably cold; the moon was getting up when we commenced our march. Mutual confidence in each other made us regardless of danger, and we proceeded on without apprehension or dread.

As our party advanced towards Aleppo the weather became more unpleasant; thick and heavy clouds obscured the moon; the air became damp and raw, added to the most piercing cold that I had for a long time experienced. Finding it impossible to remain on horseback, I dismounted to warm myself with walking. I continued on foot at a smart pace till day-break, when a wild expanse of uncultivated and barren waste presented itself to view. The country was level, and almost entirely covered with small stones. The Turkish soldiers had for the whole night been constant in their attentions, and even took off their warm cloaks to shelter us from the cold. Towards morning a chain of lights, moving almost in a parallel direction, attracted our notice; it proved to be the Hadge from Mecca returning to Aleppo: they were to the number of some thousands, as we were afterwards informed.

Not a house nor a tree was now to be seen. About a quarter before nine the ground appeared to swell gently to the east, which at last terminated in a small eminence in our front. One of the soldiers  
pointing



pointing to the spot, acquainted us, that from it Aleppo was to be seen. Anxious to get a sight of the capital of Syria, I rode briskly on, accompanied by our Janizaries. How great was my astonishment to behold, at the distance of three or four miles, a magnificent city, rising majestically from the bosom of a desert. Its ancient castle, raised on an artificial eminence in the centre of the city, which it seems proudly to command, had a wonderful effect. Its turrets, minarets, and domes, variously interspersed with the flat and terraced roofs of the houses, added to its massy gate and elevated walls of hewn stone, gave it grandeur and dignity. The sentiments of the mind at first sight are formed by the prospects which it contemplates. Aleppo, placed in a fruitful country, would not create the wonder and amazement with which we regard it in the midst of its arid plains. The same feelings that I experienced when beholding the city of Venice from an elevation of three hundred feet, in the midst of her ocean, now operated on my mind, and the want of surrounding objects afforded no comparison to diminish so



striking a light ; an object considerably increased and heightened from its bursting upon you at once, and where gradual approach does not prepare the mind to form conjectures on its importance.

We reached the gates of Aleppo at eleven o'clock, where we were met by the country music, who constantly attend to welcome the arrival of every caravan. Near to the gate a servant of the Consul's mounted on a handsome Arab horse delivered me a letter. This person had been dispatched by him to conduct us to the consulary house, where we arrived in half an hour.

Mr. Devezin, who acted in the character of Consul for Great Britain, received us with great politeness. After satisfying him on the subject of European politics and news, he was particularly inquisitive as to what we had learned regarding the fate of Captain Fowlis, and the measures taken by the Porte to suppress the tyrannical proceedings of the Pacha of Payas. We readily undertook to give him our information by the following letter, which he forwarded to Sir Robert Ainslie :—

“ MICHAEL

" MICHAEL DEVEZIN, ESQ.

" Consul to His Britannic Majesty, Aleppo.

" SIR,

" HAVING called upon us for information respecting the proceedings now carrying on against the Pacha of Payas, we will very willingly afford you, in your public capacity, every information that fell within our knowledge at Scandaroon, or during our journey from thence to this place.

" On our arrival at Scandaroon, the 27th of last month, we were informed, that in consequence of representations made by you to Sir Robert Ainslie, and by him to the Ottoman Porte, on account of the capture and detention of Captain Fowlis, as well as the Pacha's recent conduct to the pilgrims, orders had been lately sent to a neighbouring Pacha to collect the force of the country, and immediately to attack the Pacha of Payas, to seize him and his adherents, and to send him prisoner to Constantinople. In consequence of these orders, his town was invested by an army of fifteen thousand men, between whom and the Pacha's people several skirmishes had taken place. We ob-

served the signals from the camp, and met with several detachments proceeding to join the army. In a few days after our leaving Scandaroon a vigorous attack was expected; and from the positive orders of the Porte, there is every reason to hope that the Pacha of Payas will be soon secured, at least if the large force opposed to him perform their duty. Not many days previous to our arrival, the Pacha stopped and plundered a caravan of three hundred pilgrims; and it is said, that he has erected four poles in the front of his house, in order to hang certain principal men he expected soon to have in his possession.

“ We were sorry to learn that Captain Fowlis and his people attempted an escape, which might, in some degree, have exasperated the Pacha, and impeded his enlargement. In this attempt he was fired upon by the sentry, and retaken. We can add nothing farther on this unpleasant subject; but beg to remain,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed) “ JOHN TAYLOR.

ALEPPO,

“ ADAM BLACKADER.”

6th Dec. 1789.

We

We continued at Aleppo from the 4th of December to the 15th, all this time being spent in procuring a guard, and preparing to cross the Defart. We lived with the Consul, and as soon as possible appeared abroad in the Turkish habit. The weather was very cold, and we were glad to be wrapt in fur from head to foot. We visited and were visited by the French Consul, and most of the European inhabitants, and on the whole had no reason to be dissatisfied with either the civility, sociality, or mode of living at Aleppo. I attended the baths, and enjoyed much benefit and gratification from this clean and salutary custom. They are large and elegant, and resorted to by all ranks of people.

The city of Aleppo, or Haleb, as it is now called by the Turks, was the Beræa of the ancients, and situated in latitude 35. 45. 23. N. and longitude 37. 20. E. The magnificence of Aleppo, as you approach it from the Defart, strikes the traveller with astonishment; but on entering the gates you find the streets narrow, dark, and dirty. The mosques and principal houses are built of a kind of marble; they are superb, and for strength and durability they are equal, if not superior,

superior, to any buildings in the empire of the Turks. The baths are particularly deserving our attention ; for elegance and accommodation they are not outdone by any in the world. The castle too, which rises from the centre of the city, and assumes a pre-eminence over the surrounding buildings, claims our notice. Although a place of neither security nor defence, being much gone to decay, it nevertheless gives an air of great nobleness and grandeur to Aleppo. The inhabitants have been variously computed ; but in the countries which are inhabited by the Turks and Arabs, all calculation is fallacious. The plague, war, or famine, alternately depopulate the richest and best inhabited places. Aleppo has been said to contain 240,000, people, but at this moment I do not imagine that 70,000 are to be found ; of these 8000 may be Christians and 3000 Jews. The young men of Aleppo are strong and well built, and the women, when young, are remarkably handsome, though rather too much on the *en bon point*, especially their necks, which in some young women are of a prodigious size. They are in general disfigured by the disease of Aleppo, which is an endemic

mial



mial disorder of this place only. It comes like a small pimple, and its approach is discovered by a sharp itching. It increases and inflames considerably, till it becomes an ulcer the size of half a crown. The disorder lasts twelve months, and mostly fixes on the hands and face, where it leaves a deep brown mark, which through life is never effaced. Strangers are subject to this complaint, and few escape it, provided they make any stay at Aleppo. It is said to originate in the bad qualities of the water, in the same manner as we ascribe the worm in the leg in India to a similar cause, and also the swelled leg of Cochin \*. The inhabitants of this city are respectable, and decent in their manners, and more civil to Europeans than any city or town subject to the Turks. This refinement principally arises out of the spirit of commerce, and the intercourse with other countries, particularly with India. The inhabitants of Bussora and Aleppo, who have more frequent opportunities for observation, and more immediate

\* Almost every third person that you meet in the streets of Cochin have their legs and feet swelled to a most immoderate size, thought to originate from the bad water in that neighbourhood.



connection with that country, are a polished people in comparison with those who inhabit the frontier towns of Turkey, or those of India or Palestine; so much does commerce meliorate and improve the manners, and even the dispositions, of those nations who seek for new sources of opulence and power in the habits of perseverance and industry. The capitation paid by the Christians amounts to six hundred purses: but this revenue must be subject to great fluctuation, especially in those times when the plague sweeps away so many thousands of the inhabitants. This distemper is reckoned to visit Aleppo every ten or twelve years.

The city and district of Aleppo is governed by a Pacha, nominated by the Porte; but in reality it may be called an independent government, as little or no dependence can be put on him. During the late war with Russia, the quota of troops to be furnished by Aleppo was six thousand men, but it was with the greatest difficulty that the Pacha could prevail on a few of that number to set out for the army. They did so with great unwillingness, but very soon returned, cursing the Turks, and wishing the destruction

tion of their empire. The distant dependencies of Constantinople do not feel any part of the impulse or of that energy which connects and cements an empire: they may be compared to the ramifications of the banyan-tree, which do not depend on the parent stock, but take root from the branches, and at last may be separated and flourish of themselves. In fact, the interests of the Porte and those of the Eastern provinces are totally dissimilar, and one day or other this opposition will assist to accelerate her downfall. The military force of the Pacha is very inconsiderable, and they seldom go far beyond the walls of the city. The Arabs are entirely independent of the Turkish government, and they behold it with an eye of contempt and disregard: they allow the Turks only the shadow of power, whilst the substance is enjoyed by themselves.

The trade of the Levant has been rapidly declining since the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope; formerly there was upwards of forty English merchants settled in Aleppo: but I much doubt the present existence of two houses of respectability of our nation at that place. In the  
year

year 1790, M. Devezin, the English Consul, informed me, " That the Levant Company, " on taking the scale or commercial situation " of Aleppo into consideration, came to a resolution of abandoning it, as the trade " thereof was by no means adequate to the " expence of supporting a Pro-Consul and " Factory any longer." That gentleman perfectly agreed that the trade could not sustain so heavy an expence as the establishment occasioned, nor that the allowance was sufficient for him without trade, not even including that paid by the East-India Company. The 11th of April, 1791, was fixed by the Levant Company for his departure: since which time we have had no regularly-appointed Consul at Aleppo.

When the situation of Aleppo is considered, we are struck with astonishment at its loss of trade:—no place can be better adapted for commerce, and, independent of every obstruction, were a regular and well-appointed government established, it would again draw to its centre a very great proportion of its former abundance. In point of inland trade, by caravans, it stands unrivalled; Armenia, Georgia, Natolia, and the great cities of Diarbekir,

Diarbekir, Bagdad and Damascus: Persia and Egypt may be considered in the range of its commerce. The ports of Scandaroon and Latachea on the Mediterranean open a speedy conveyance to the shores of Europe; but those advantages are lost in a country where property is unprotected, and where government have not the means to guarantee the safety of either the trader or of his merchandise.

The proportion of other European settlers is equally small with those of our own country: in short, the trade has dwindled into the utmost insignificance, and if a change does not speedily take place, it must end in the total destruction not only of Aleppo, but of every place in Arabia dependent on the Turkish Empire. The environs of Aleppo exhibit a picture distressing to the eye, and equally hurtful to humanity: out of forty large villages that formerly surrounded the city, not one is left now inhabited: the ruins are to be seen, and it will require the power of ages to obliterate their remembrance. The houses are composed of strong clay mixed with gravel, beat together with heavy mallets: the roof of each apartment is separate, and being of a conical



conical form, they appear like numberless bee-hives of a large dimension.

Aleppo is remarkable for the goodness of the mutton and other viands: fish is procurable from the Orontes and the Lake of Antioch; eels are in particular to be had in great plenty: they are salted, and are much eaten by the natives: vegetables and fruit are likewise abundant; among the latter are grapes, mulberries, figs, Pistachio nuts, pears, plums, peaches and walnuts. Their water is brought from the distance of five miles, and is extremely good; but the water procurable in the city is bad and very brackish. There does not exist a doubt of the advantages which might be derived from the local and relative situation of Aleppo. It is capable of high improvement, and even the soil immediately in the vicinity is rich and luxuriant. On the western side it is watered by the little river Coig, which, though a small stream, is never totally dried up. The grain principally produced in this neighbourhood is wheat and barley; the first is indigenous to the soil of Syria, from whence it has been transplanted into the climates of Europe. Nature here produces, but with us art and industry

industry improve. Let us not therefore arraign the justice of Providence; for if it plants in one soil, we reap the same article in another, and the genial influence of Heaven extends in different degrees throughout the universal globe.

As I have already observed, the first coup d'œil of Aleppo is admirable. The buildings being all of stone, and the houses not being burdened with heavy clumsy roofs, gives the whole an air of inconceivable neatness. The roofs of the houses are all flat, and terraced with hard cement: from each house there is a communication with the terrace above, by which the inhabitants of whole streets enjoy the society of each other, especially in the cool pleasant evenings, without the trouble of going into the streets. As the Christian European inhabitants have a quarter allotted to themselves, it is particularly serviceable to them, especially during the time when the plague and other epidemical diseases rage in Aleppo. They make it a rule on those occasions to shut their gates, and never to stir abroad, but they enjoy society, air, and exercise from the tops of their houses. The food necessary for the use of their families is drawn up in a



basket and carefully fumigated and purified before it is made use of.

We hired a caravan at Aleppo expressly for ourselves, for which we paid besides the outfit above 4000 piastrres. We were allowed sixteen camels for our tents, baggage, and water, besides those used to transport ourselves. The number of our guard amounted to forty Arabs well armed, with matchlocks and scymeters, commanded by a Sheick. We provided ourselves with cold fowls, wine, spirits and potted meat, and on the Defart we found plenty of hares, and now and then procured sheep, goats and fowls, from the little villages we met with on the way. The most usual way in which Europeans travel in crossing the Defart is on horseback, or in the Mohaffa. The Mohaffa is nothing more than two boxes about five feet long, slung over the back of a camel, with a canopy thrown over to shelter you from the sun, which is supported by a short tent-pole, fixed on the camel's saddle ; by which means, a camel carries two people. Provided with these and other necessary articles, we took leave of Aleppo on the afternoon of the 15th of December 1789, and

and marched one hour, or three miles, from it, when we encamped for the night.

On the 16th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we quitted the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and at five in the afternoon arrived at Shake-Abdulla, where we found several wells of water; our road was over a barren and stony country: our course this day S. E. by S.

17th. The caravan set off at seven A. M. and arrived at Zebell at half past six. We saw several parties of horsemen at a considerable distance, moving in various directions on the Defart. Course S.

18th. We quitted this ground at half past six A. M. and at one o'clock arrived at Zergah, (course S. S. E.) where we found a tank filled with water and surrounded with high grass. The water was frozen at least three inches thick, and it was not until we had broken the ice with large hammers that we could procure water to drink. From this tank we filled our skins, and took as much water as to last us four days. Amongst the long grass we discovered a *drove* of wild hogs; after a long pursuit we were so unlucky as to return without success. At three  
Q 2 o'clock,

o'clock, every thing being adjusted, we moved on, and at six P. M. encamped on the Defart. Course S. E.

19th. We marched at seven A. M. and at half past two came to a place named also Zergah : here again we saw many wild hogs and plenty of horses. The Jerboa, or rat of the Defart, is also very plentiful in this place : they are extremely shy and difficult to be shot from the quickness with which they get under ground on perceiving the flash of a gun. I saw here a Hyena, but could not get near enough to get a shot at him. He was extremely shy and timid. Notwithstanding the dreadful accounts given of the ferociousness of this animal, it is far from being the case, and to me, who have seen many, they appear entirely otherwise. The country still very barren and little vegetation. Course S. E. by S.

20th. Marched at seven A. M. and arrived at Tinyatyre at seven P. M. This day we saw some countrymen with asses, cutting grass, which made me suppose that we were in the neighbourhood of a village. The grass was long and coarse, and grew in detached

detached tufts in a loose sandy soil. Course S. E.

21st. Left Tinyatyre at seven A. M. and arrived at Coma at four. Here we found a warm spring of water. Its temperature was moderately hot, and it appeared to us much resorted to, for we saw several horsemen, and the marks of different encampments, with numberless foot paths crossing the Desert in all directions. Here the Sheick informed us, that we were not far from Tayba, a large town or village. During this day's march he pointed out to us a small white building, which he acquainted us was within a few miles of Tayba. Having met with a description of this place by an old traveller, I shall here take the liberty of inserting it, as the place is little known, and not much frequented. Course S. E.

Captain Roberts, who crossed the Desert above half a century ago, in a letter of his to Mr. Plaisted, says, he saw well-wrought capitals of the Corinthian order, without naming the place, which made him imagine he had meant Palmyra; but his Arab servant, who travelled with him, assured him that he came the same track with him over the Desert; that he vi-

sited this place, and took a drawing of some parts of it with a pencil: add to this, that Palmyra lies sixty miles S. W. of this place. Tayba is a walled town, seated on a rising ground, and makes a tolerable appearance when you come within a proper distance.

The English merchants, who were here in 1691, observed the prospect was helped by a well-built steeple, to which the Mahometans had joined a mosque, supposed to be the remains of a Christian church, because it was built with more art and beauty than is generally to be met with in Turkish fabrics. The people that inhabited this town seemed to be more civilized, and of better fashion, than they had hitherto met with in the Desert; but it is now desolate, and the houses in ruins; the gateway is arched, and very strong, with marks of its having been cannonaded. Just at the entrance is an inscription on a wall, the characters of which Capt. Roberts did not understand, though they might probably be Palmyrene; for Dr. Bernard affirms, he met with some of that kind when he visited this place. The most remarkable building which he saw was a square tower, which doubtless was the steeple above-mentioned; it is built of hewn stone,



stone, and is pretty entire, only the upper part is out of repair: there are one hundred and fifty-five steps on the inside to go up to the top of it, and adjoining thereto are the ruins of a chapel, but the parts which are left are not sufficient to give a just idea of its dimensions or architecture; however, there is part of a room yet standing, whose dimensions may be about as large as a bed-chamber, and in it are two Corinthian capitals, one of which is very badly wrought, but the other seems to be pretty well executed, and may probably give rise to the encomiums of Captain Roberts. Mr. Plaisted says, that he should have been very particular in measuring all its members, if the Sheick, who now pretended to have a great regard for him, had not sent to acquaint him that he was in danger from some concealed Arabs. However, he observed that the Triglypts, which bend backwards in our modern capitals, and stand upright, lay flat in this, and leaned on one side. The stone or alabaster of which it was made seemed to be a very fine sort; but the other, and three or four shafts or columns, were only of freestone. There were two shafts of pillars fixed in the wall, which had the appearance of



marble, about four feet long, and eleven inches in diameter, but they were without bases and capitals; over these was an arch turned with the same sort of bricks of which the rest of the building is constructed.

Two miles to the westward of Tayba there are high hills, on which stands a building resembling a chapel, and nearer the town is a noble quarry of white transparent alabaster, of which the capital above-mentioned was most probably made. This place and the adjacent country gave Mr. Plaisted more pleasure than any thing he had met with since he left Buffora.

22d. We marched from this hummum at seven A. M. and got to Lachadamie at four P. M. This day we passed near to the remains of a small castle in the Gothic style. The name of this place, we were informed, signified in Arabic, the Brother's Buildings. Course S. E. half E.

23d. Left Lachadamie a little before seven, and arrived at Lachadier at half past three o'clock. A great plenty of hares.

24th. Left Lachadier at half past six, and arrived at Jupp Chanum at six P. M. We found here two wells of brackish water, extremely

tremely deep, and cut out of the rock, with a border of masonry round the inside. This place, we understand, is called by the Arabs, the Sheep's Well; and although the country round is extremely barren, in former times it might have afforded pastures to numerous flocks. Procured several hares from the Arabs at a trifling rate. Course S. E. by E.

25th. Marched from Jupp Chanum at eight A. M. after having drawn water from the wells, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at a spot on the Defart, very naked, and marked by nothing extraordinary, excepting a few ranges of low hills. Course S. E.

26th. Our caravan moved this morning at half past six. We found the country truly barren, not a blade of grafs for the camels; the Arabs were consequently obliged to feed them with barley cakes. We passed a few barren hills, and some beds of rivers entirely dry, and saw but few hares in the course of the day. Some teal flew past. This place is called by the Arabs Manie. Course S. E. by E.

27th. Left Manie at half past five A. M. and arrived at Ghura Laffalive, or otherwise

wife Gour Alaflaf, ten minutes before four o'clock. The country much the same as yesterday. Passed a very deep well, but with little water. Course S. E. by S.

28th. At seven A. M. quitted this encampment, having experienced a very rainy night and morning. We travelled over a country barren, rocky, and uneven. Passed a difficult defile, where we found very bad footing for the camels. We arrived at Shackabujamus at four P. M. not a shrub to be seen, excepting some little vegetation in the bed of a dry river. Course S. S. E.

29th. Left Shackabujamus at half past six A. M. and at Aquilack Horan, (or otherwise Auglat-ul-Horraun.) Course S. S. E. half E. At half past four P. M. encamped, in the channel of a river, much frequented, where there are many wells of good water. This day's march through a very desert country, neither shrubs, hares, nor birds to be seen. Sent out men to reconnoitre, and to bring intelligence. The country is exceedingly barren, being hard gravel and small stones. All travellers agree, that these wells collect great numbers of a bird common in Syria, something resembling a partridge, especially in the

the hot season. We saw none, but the cause is evident; the plenty of water all over the Defart at this season affords these birds the means of satisfying their thirst.

30th. We quitted Aquilack Horan at seven A. M. and at two arrived at a deep ravine, where we halted. Here we were said to be four days journey from Hillah, and two hours journey from Cubessa. Course S. S. E. This village lies in the direct road from Aleppo to Bagdad, and has long been famous as the resort of thieves; from its general bad name, it is better entirely to avoid it, unless your caravan is particularly strong. As our route led close past Cubessa, and the Sheick having received intelligence that the way was clear, he resolved to take the shortest road. To-day we saw several hares and ostriches, and found their eggs lying on the ground, exposed on a sloping bank facing the east to be hatched by the influence of the sun. During the morning and evening it was very rainy, and we found plenty of excellent rain water standing in the rocks and cavities. The Defart which we passed was very barren, the soil gravel, intermixed with stones. We could not per-  
ceive

ceive a single shrub, excepting a few in the channels of dry beds of rivers, where they find moisture. In situations of this kind the caravans are halted, and the camels allowed to graze for a short time.

31st. At half an hour past six this morning the camels were loaded, and we continued our route through a stony country, intermixed with some few bushes. At nine o'clock we passed the village of Cubessa, distant about two miles. This village is situated in a grove of date trees, and appears to consist of a parcel of miserable huts, and the country round is extremely barren; nevertheless we saw a few deer and some hares. At half past three we arrived at our ground, and encamped on a green spot, being the bed of a rivulet. Here we found no spring, but our camels were refreshed from several pools of standing water that we passed during this day's march; although not fit for use, still it proved very serviceable to the thirsty camels. This place is called by the Arabs Mahommaddie, or Mohammedy. In its neighbourhood the herbs and vegetation evinced an appearance of spring, and yielded a fine aromatic smell. To-day  
a camel,



a camel, being unable to proceed, our Sheick would willingly have killed it, in order to distribute its flesh amongst his people; but at the same time he disliked the delay, and turned the animal loose on the Desert. I cannot help observing, that it is very probable that water might be easily procured for the camels by digging to some depth in the bottoms of the channels. I was sorry that we had no implements to make the experiment; a circumstance which should not be neglected by future travellers. Course S. E. by E.

January 1st, 1790. This morning, at ten minutes past six, we moved forward, and at two o'clock came to several springs of mineral water, strongly impregnated with sulphur. We halted here to let our camels drink. Those creatures had no objection to the unsavoury taste, but to me it was detestable. The springs are named Bredaun, or Ul-Burdaun. After halting about a quarter of an hour, we continued our march over a dry barren soil, and at twenty-five minutes past four we encamped for the night. To this encampment the Arabs had no name. Before we approached the springs of Ul-Burdaun,



daun, we saw several large wild ducks, and a great number of teal sitting on the water : they took flight, and continued hovering round during our stay. This place appears to be much resorted to. There are several graves upon a small rising ground, close by the water, and one miserable hovel, which merely affords a traveller shelter from the sun : it was occupied by a few Arabs of a very singular appearance, whose history I could not learn. They appeared something in the style of the Indian Faquiers, and I took them to be wandering mendicants, or Santons. They had no arms, and did not ask us for any thing, but were civil and inoffensive. Our course to Burdaun was S. E. by S. and to our encampment S. E.

2d. We were ready to march this morning at five minutes past six. At twelve passed the bed of what must be in certain seasons a large stream ; and at one o'clock, at a considerable distance, we perceived the village of Shittat. Here a naked Arab informed the Sheick of a large body of thieves being in the neighbourhood, and shortly after it was imagined that seven or eight horsemen had been seen. These circumstances determined our chief to change

change his route. The caravan was ordered to take a southerly direction, and we continued moving in a direct line, totally out of the road, till twenty-five minutes past two, when we halted at a place called Auchally. This movement was directly south; our situation entirely concealed us from view, and there was no possibility of being discovered by an enemy, until they came close on the brink of the precipices that surrounded us on all sides to the height of twenty or twenty-five feet. From this lurking place a messenger was dispatched to gain the necessary information, and in the mean-time every precaution was taken: no person was permitted to ascend the height besides a sentry, who was ordered to sit down behind a rock to give the alarm in case of the approach of an enemy. Firing was forbid in the camp, and the arms put in proper order, reloaded, and primed.

3d. The camels were ready at half past five this morning. Our messenger had orders to join us on the march; he came at the time appointed, and gave us the pleasing information, that the supposed thieves proved a caravan of merchants of nearly three hundred

dred camels ; that they had purchased a quantity of dates at Shittat, for which the village is famous, and intended disposing of them at Aleppo and Damascus. The Sheick now turned towards Shittat, after we had rewarded the messenger with a few piastras. He was, contrary to my idea of a spy, tolerably well dressed in scarlet, and armed with an exceeding good match-lock, two pistols, and a scymeter, and appeared more an object to be pilaged, than a person sent to procure information, and to pass unobserved. At eleven o'clock we arrived in the neighbourhood of the date trees, which envelope the village of Shittat, where we pitched our tents. From the prospect of a dreary desert, you are at once astonished with the appearance of an extensive grove, not less than four to five miles in extent ; no cultivation of any kind appeared beyond its limits ; and it would seem that the inhabitants had determined to content themselves within the circumference of this insulated spot. Our situation was on the banks of the dry bed of a river, a mile and a half distant from the skirts of the grove. The bottom afforded us excellent water, and in great plenty ; the moisture occasioned a plentiful

tiful supply of grass, on which the horses and camels fed most luxuriously. About half an hour after our arrival the Sheick sent a message, acquainting us of his dispatching a party to Shittat for a supply of provisions, and wishing to know what we wanted from thence. One of our camel-men offered to provide us in fowls, milk, and eggs, which were the only necessaries we required: he returned late in the evening with a few good fowls, but he said neither eggs nor milk were procureable; but in order to lay out all the money he was entrusted with, he purchased a small quantity of very fine dates. The Arabs make you pay on the Defart half a piastre for a fowl, and from four to five for a sheep: these prices appear high, more especially where money is so valuable. Our guards had, some days previous to our arrival here, treated us with a war dance, in which their colours were placed in the centre of the company, who formed a ring with their swords drawn. They danced in a circle, and sung at the time an Arabic song, accompanied by many odd jestures, according as the subject varied. This having been done out of compliment

to us, it was necessary to return their civility, which we did by a present of twenty piaftres, and regaled the whole party with their favourite food—barley bread, and the best dates the village afforded, an equal division being served to each man. Their own supply was brought into camp on asses, an animal very useful and common on the Desert, and consisted of a very small portion of tobacco, dates, barley, flour, and rancid butter for their camels. The butter they make up in balls, and feed them with more or less according to the plenty or scarcity of vegetation on the spot where they encamp. To-day was given up to the exercise of the match-lock, at which the Arabs are extremely expert. We appropriated some spare arms, which we had purchased at Venice, as a reward for the best marksman, and in three different trials the Sheick, not with the appearance of strict justice, carried off the prizes, being two pair of pistols and a gun. The mark was a flat stone placed on end, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, not much larger than a common plate. This they seldom missed; and it is remarkable with what rapture an Arab kissed a very handsome



handsome fowling piece, merely because he hit the mark with what to him was a novelty, never having before used any thing but a match-lock. Course S. E. by E.

4th. The camels being loaded, at half past six this morning we set forward over a barren flat desert. We crossed the bed of a river, and at eleven A. M. we passed to our left the ruins of a small square fort, distant about half a mile, which the Arabs called Ula Kayder. Course S. S. E. At half past three the Sheick thought proper to halt in a very wild situation, with little vegetation near us to refresh our camels, and to which the Arabs had no name. This evening it began to rain with great violence: for our security in the night, we were very attentive to have the tent pins and weather ropes well secured before dark. Course S. E. by E.

5th. All night the rain continued without intermission, and notwithstanding our care, we could not avoid being wet; however, we made the best of our situation, and as the morning had some appearance of fair weather, about half past nine o'clock we were ready to set out: our hopes were soon ended



by repeated heavy showers, which obliged us to halt. At half past twelve the rain was now accompanied by thunder and lightning, infomuch that the camels turned from the storm, and obstinately refused to move forward. The camels never persevere in the face of a storm, but immediately turn their backs to it; they are much injured from wet weather, which, if it is of long continuance, generally ends in the destruction of numbers of them. Owing to the bad weather last night and this morning, one of the camels was unable to proceed; it was therefore put to death, and divided amongst the Arabs, who feasted on it with great delight. Their cookery is plain, and truly simple. A hole made in the ground, which, after being well heated and filled with burning embers, serves to receive the raw meat, which they keep turning till sufficiently roasted: they are at little trouble in preparing for this operation; their hares, &c. are never skinned, the fire burns the hair off the wool; and they are fond of their meat roasted to a cinder. Their nastiness in the eyes of Europeans is much against them. They make no scruple of eating the flesh of camels which has been

been tied to their saddles, and even sitten on for days together. The Arabs are the reverse of cleanly: and we cannot fail to remark, that as civilization induces industry, industry, in like manner, promotes cleanliness and decorum. The nice and delicate feelings of the human mind are not developed till the age of barbarism is past, and that the community begin to experience the necessity and comfort of accommodating, individually, to those habits which pure nature does not inculcate. Should we search for an illustration of this fact, and where mankind is still in its most uncultivated state, we shall find it on the late voyage of La Perouse. Speaking of the Indians in the country around Port François, between the 57th and 59th degrees of north latitude, on the north-west coast of America, he says, " Their cabins  
 " possess a nastiness and stench, to which the  
 " den of no known animal in the world can  
 " properly be compared. They never re-  
 " move themselves more than two steps for  
 " the performance of any necessary occasion,  
 " in which they seek neither for shade nor  
 " privacy, as if they had not an instant to  
 " lose; and when this happens during a  
 " meal,

“ meal, they take their place again, from  
 “ which they never were at a greater distance  
 “ than five or six feet. The wooden vessels  
 “ in which they cook their fish are never  
 “ washed ; they serve them for kettle, dish,  
 “ and plate.” The same account of those  
 Indians is given by Captain Nixon in his  
 voyage. “ The inside of their dwellings  
 “ exhibits a complete picture of dirt and  
 “ filth, indolence and laziness. In one cor-  
 “ ner are thrown the bones and remaining  
 “ fragments of victuals left at their meals ;  
 “ in another are heaps of fish, pieces of  
 “ stinking flesh, grease, oil,” &c. The Kam-  
 schatchadales, the Siberians, and the Ha-  
 brideans, inhabit nearly the same degrees  
 of north latitude ; and it is to be feared  
 that they are but little more cleanly than  
 those we have described. The Arabs, al-  
 though not quite so disagreeable and filthy,  
 are, however, extremely dirty. In their  
 garments they are slovenly to a great de-  
 gree, and they do not hesitate to eat the  
 flesh of every animal, let it be what it may,  
 and whether it has died of disease or by  
 accident, or whether it has been killed ac-  
 cording to the institutes of their religion.

The

The Sheick was under the necessity of feeding the camels with barley flour, made into balls, as there was very little to be picked up on the Defart. Our escort appeared somewhat chagrined, from their being exposed to the weather, which, from the want of tents in the caravan, was unavoidable.

6th. The weather all last night proved extremely rainy. Our tent having but two clothes in the top, we experienced great inconvenience from the wet; to remedy which, as well as we could, the Mohaffas were brought inside to lie in; they proved very uncomfortable from being so short; for my part, I was seized with a violent cramp in my legs, from the contraction which they occasioned, but they served the useful purpose of keeping us dry. At eight o'clock the weather was something better. At nearly eleven the caravan moved; and we could perceive, at a great distance, the Tomb of Ally, called by the Arabs Meshed Ally. At one o'clock were much about abreast of it, which was now distant four or five miles to our left. It is asserted, that the dome of the great mosque is covered with pure gold. It is



not for me to determine the point; the Arabs will have it to be the case, and it is certainly splendid from a distance; but gilded copper would have a similar effect. This building is a particular protégé of the faithful, and held sacred by all ranks and descriptions of people. In point of situation or ornament, the successor of Mahomet has little beside his canopy to boast of. The country round is stony and barren, with neither birds, nor hares, nor vegetation. We began to experience the weather considerably warmer, which in some degree made amends for the broken ground we this day passed over; added to which, the damp occasioned by the heavy rains made travelling much against the camels. Near to Meshed Ally there appears the bed of a considerable river, though, I am told, in the hot season the inhabitants, who are but few and poor, are much distressed from the want of water, and are obliged to bring it from a distance. At half past three the caravans halted at Wader-a-Hami. Our Arabs ventured to-day to fly their hawks: unluckily for the poor fellows, one of them made off, and although he was followed a considerable distance, neither the lure nor imprecations could

could prevail on him to return. The Arabs are expert in this art, and of which they are extremely fond.

7th. The weather proved bad in the night, and prevented our marching till ten minutes before seven. The country we passed over afforded little verdure; but we found three small streams, occasioned by the late rains. At five P. M. the caravans halted at a place called Anaseyd, close by a stream, where the ground was exceedingly barren, being a mixture of sand, gravel, and stones, and not a shrub to be seen. A little distance in front we could perceive seven or eight men on the plain; the Arabs said they were people from the mountains not far distant. Within three miles of our rear we saw distinctly a ruined village, called Alataly. Our Sheick informed us, that formerly it was considerable, but that the inhabitants were obliged to leave it from its being the resort of all the thieves in the country, and who made no scruple of taking whatever provisions they were in want of; and that they continued this violence to such a degree, that the oppressed people were glad to look out for quieter and more secure habitations. Course E. by S.

8th.



8th. We began our march this morning at a quarter before seven, and continued our route over a barren and dreary country, interspersed with some bushes of lavender and thyme. At ten o'clock we came in sight of a spire, which we were informed served as a mark to a fountain of excellent water named Eyn-ul-Gyan. During this day's journey the Sheick was alarmed by the appearance of a caravan at some distance: he dismounted from his camel, and requested the use of my horse and spy-glass to reconnoitre. For the first time I rode a camel, and in my opinion, with a proper saddle, it is a very eligible mode of travelling, and preferable to the Mohaffa. When the Sheick returned he informed us, that the caravan consisted of some hundred asses loaded with salt. We could perceive smoke in many different directions, but at a great distance: not a hare was to be seen this day. At half past four o'clock we arrived at a place to which the Arabs had no name. Course S. E.

9th. Marched fifteen minutes past six, and arrived at Bellmarice, by some called Emfiched, on the banks of the Shat-ul-Atehan, at five minutes past four. The river is considerable,

siderable, but I am informed it is dried up part of the year: its course is marked by thorn-bushes of a tolerable size. Our camels discovered evident marks of fatigue, proceeding from our late bad weather. To-day we had smart showers attended with a high wind: to mend the matter, there was no food for the poor animals, excepting a few dry bushes. We procured very few hares for some days, which obliged us to have recourse to our stock. Course E. S. E.

10th. At twenty minutes before seven we moved towards the plains of Semawat, or Samawa, and at twenty minutes past four we encamped with the town of the same name, bearing N. N. W. distant about five miles. It appears pretty large and surrounded with walls, flanked by towers in the Eastern style of fortification. The Sheick told us it contained three hundred houses. As we approached the Euphrates, the country displayed more vegetation; the bushes appeared strong and healthy, but the soil cold and damp. Course E. by N.

11th. We resumed our march at a quarter after six, and at a quarter past twelve halted at Omalhunta, on account of our camels,

mels, the animals being much jaded. We learnt from five Dervizes whom we fell in with, that they had left Buffora five days before. These people travel without danger over all the Defart from village to village, and are supported by the liberality of the Arabs: they are known at a distance by means of their little horns, which they blow when they approach travellers: our people were wonderfully attentive to them, and bestowed their dates with a plentiful hand. At this place there is fine grass for the camels, the country abounding with many high bushes of different kinds: we were now distant from the river Euphrates only about two miles: its banks discovered trees, and afforded a pleasant sight when compared to our late prospects. At nine o'clock this morning we passed a ruined mud fort on our left, called Jeriah, and were joined by a man from Semawa. He arrived with scarce any clothes, from an apprehension, as we understood, of meeting Arabs of a different tribe, and who never fail to plunder those not belonging to their own. He was happy to take the protection of our caravan, and our friendly guards supplied him with provisions. To-day's

day's march we found water in abundance, having passed many large standing pools: it proved exceedingly good. During the night we lay here, a lion made its appearance in camp, to the great annoyance of the camels. The camels are not picketed, but are made to lie down in a circular form with one leg tied: these animals were so alarmed, that they rose almost instantaneously, and drew up in regular line to oppose the invader. After a few shots were discharged by the sentries, the lion thought proper to retire. I was awakened from a sound sleep by the noise made by the camels, and I imagined that a body of cavalry had entered our encampment. I ran out, and was happy to find it was not the case. The Arabs are vigilant sentinels, and always guard against surprise. Course E. S. E.

12th. From Omalhunta our caravan moved at half past six; at ten o'clock we passed to our left the village of Tahir, situated on the bank of the river; at two, a small tomb, Eben Ally, was seen to our right. To-day's march lay over vast plains, chiefly salt ground; the line of the river was beautifully marked by the trees along its banks: the smoke



smoke of many fires at night bespoke inhabitants. The plenty of standing water rendered our skins of very little use to us. Encamped at twenty minutes to five at Shicarrah: our course E. by S., E. S. E. and E. according to the course of the river.

13th. Marched this morning at twenty-five minutes to seven, much gratified with the idea of being near the dwellings of man. On our first outset this morning we discovered many marks of small encampments and cattle, and at eight the first horde of travelling Arabs presented themselves to our view: they appeared to the number of three hundred, and were drawn up in small bodies behind the banks which had been thrown up, with their colours in their front: we could also perceive others marching in regular order: their arms consisted of spears of about six feet in length: some few had scymeters. On our nearer approach, their horsemen, to the number of twelve or fifteen, advanced to reconnoitre, and after some delay one of them rode towards us flourishing his spear: he halted at the distance of one hundred yards. The fighting men of our caravan were at this time regularly formed, headed by the  
Sheick,

Sheick, with their matches lighted, and every way ready for action. The baggage was in the rear and protected by the armed servants of the caravan. In this order we moved on, Mr. Blackader and myself, on the first information, having descended from our mohaffas and mounted our horses. The Sheick seemed by no means anxious to avoid them. One of the horsemen called out in the language of the country, which discovered them to be a tribe of Buffora Arabs, under the Montefeic Sheick. We were soon joined by the rest of the horsemen, who accompanied us more than two miles. We were offered by those generous people, sheep, butter and milk; but the Sheick told us our march would be long, and that we should arrive at a village in the evening, the most plentiful on the banks of the Euphrates: we therefore took leave, but not without surveying them with an attentive eye. The horsemen were in appearance well clothed, mounted, and armed, with sedate and sensible countenances. The foot were clothed with little else besides a wrapper round the middle, and but few had turbans: their arms were the rusty lances before described. Their tents, which appeared to belong only

to



to the grandees, were black and low, but remarkably well pitched : they were made of a mixture of wool and camel's hair, sufficiently thick to be cool and to resist the rain. In the neighbourhood of this encampment it appeared clearly that a considerable track had been cultivated last year, and had produced grain : there were many ditches to convey the water from field to field : their flocks, which consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, a few horses and camels, found there excellent pasture, and I suppose amounted to some thousands. We continued over immense plains of pasture ground, but without a single bush or any thing that could be used as fire-wood, meeting many smaller bodies on our march, who took no notice of us. The first-mentioned party was the advanced guard of the Montefeic Sheick, whose encampment was discovered at five o'clock on the banks of the Euphrates : in thirty-five minutes afterwards we arrived at the village of Shoogal-Shugh, where we pitched our tents at half a mile's distance from the Arab encampment. It was necessary for our Sheick to pay his respects to Sheick Ahmud, who is chief of the Bussora Arabs, before he proceeded further.

In merchant caravans he receives as a tribute a stipulated sum from each camel carrying merchandize: he accordingly attended him after dark, and was desired to return in the morning, when a person would be sent to take an account of the trade in the caravan. Our Sheick represented that we were travellers, and not merchants, and as soldiers we had nothing but our arms. The Montefeic insisted that so numerous a caravan as ours must have brought something in the way of trade. On Sheick Abdulla's return, he informed us of the conversation, and requested that we should be firm in the refusal of presents of any kind. The Sheick, he told us, would soon be convinced of the truth of what he told him, but that his principal servants were extremely rapacious, and would, no doubt, be troublesome. It was exactly so; for at ten o'clock next day our trunks were searched, and nothing in the form of merchandize being found, the officer and his party requested a present before they took leave. Our Sheick, by signs and nods, requested us to refuse: after some time spent in convincing them we had nothing worthy their acceptance, they departed. Our Arabs endeavoured to

impress us with an idea of the power and respectability of the Great Sheick, who was attended, as they said, by 20,000 men. His encampment extended very irregularly along the bank of the river: it was tolerably extensive, but had little depth: my calculation of the number reduced them to about 3000; however, I did not think proper to dispute the point. The course of the river during this day's march was nearly E. by S. and that of our caravan E. S. E. Last night the weather was exceedingly cold, and in the morning, frost was perceivable on the ground: I have already remarked, that the climate for some time has been considerably milder.

14th. It was not till twelve o'clock to-day that we had permission to decamp. Our Sheick made the necessary present to his Chief, consisting of a hawk, two pieces of broad-cloth, and twenty pair of Turkish boots, of which all the Arabs are very fond. He politely sent to us, wishing us a pleasant journey, and requesting we would spare him some European gunpowder: with this demand we complied with great cheerfulness, and in half an hour, every thing being adjusted, we moved off, keeping nearly the course of the river; the  
banks

banks of which, to the distance of some miles inland, are covered with high reeds, and intersected with water-courses : these places abound with remarkably large wild hogs, whose flesh has a most agreeable flavour : the country is very flat, but affording excellent pasturage : the villages appear to be situated immediately on the banks of the river, while the more distant country abounds with hordes of Arabs with immense flocks ; in particular, to-day we met one horde, who turned their sole attention to the rearing of camels : to the best of my judgment they possessed above 2000 of these useful animals, which are emphatically called, in the language of the Arabs, the Ship of the Desert ; and shortly after we saw a great number of asses. The breed of horses appears to be much confined ; every horde having only a few colts and brood mares : the horses are sold at the age of three years, when they are esteemed fit for backing ; but no consideration will make an Arab part with a mare : the breed is universally known and every where highly esteemed. We encamped at five o'clock near the river, at a place called Dachaully : from this I wrote to Mr. Manesty, the English Resident.



at Buffora, acquainting him of our approach. It is here to be remarked, that the people on the river bear an exceedingly bad character, being reputed treacherous, and thieves to a great degree: our Sheick therefore avoided the Euphrates at night, generally above two or three miles.

15th. Marched this morning at twenty-six minutes before seven, and as our course lay somewhat from the river, and not in the way of good water, it was found necessary to depart nearly a quarter of a mile from the direct road to take water for two days from a small water-course in the neighbourhood of a pretty large horde, whose tents were pitched by the stream. We traversed this day E. S. E. over fine plains, abounding with many of the wandering tribes and abundance of sheep, cattle, camels and goats: at twenty-five minutes to four P. M. our caravan halted at Legatta.

16th. At half past six our caravan directed their course E. by S. for some hours over a fine country; for latterly we traversed an exceeding barren and desert plain, with scarce the appearance of vegetation. Our journey to-day being very long, several of  
our

our camels gave up with fatigue, and amongst the rest, that which carried my Mohaffa: this obliged an exchange to take place, but without much loss of time. At half past seven o'clock we came to our ground at Quebda, much fatigued by so long a march. It being quite dark, we were put to a good deal of inconvenience and trouble in pitching the tents, and getting our equipage in tolerable order; but we made shift to regale ourselves with stewed hare, and the last bottle of wine in our possession. Before coming to this village, my camel-keeper's brother, who had been in a consumptive state ever since we left Aleppo, died. We wondered much at the absence of the brother, who used to be alert, and necessary to us on our arrival at the ground; the poor fellow was busied in paying the last duty to a friend, for they always appeared on the most cordial terms. We understood little ceremony was used; a hole was dug in the ground, into which he was put without a requiem. This was the first person we had lost out of the caravan. Quebda is a deserted village, and now in ruins, with a building that carries the appearance of a fort, though I rather



imagine it was formerly a large mosque. Colonel Capper mentions there being water in the neighbourhood, but I judge it to be very bad, since our Sheick took the trouble of bringing it from two days back to this place. Our party went to sleep with comfort from our near approach to Zebeer and Buffora, and with the idea that our wanderings were nearly at an end.

17th. From the fatigue of yesterday's march, our Sheick did not move from Quebda, notwithstanding our impatience, until twenty minutes before seven. Our march to Zebeer, where we arrived at half past nine A. M. was indeed over the Desert, and the Desert reaches to the very walls of Zebeer. The gates of this place are so low and narrow, as not to admit the camels with burdens or Mohaffas; we were consequently obliged to dismount. Our baggage was taken off, and we repaired with a conductor to the house of a considerable person, whilst our Sheick remained to give directions about the baggage and caravan. In walking through the village, the people shewed a degree of curiosity, but mixed with respect and civility. Our course to-day was directly east.

I could

I could not help remarking the extreme sensibility of the people of this village. When our caravan approached within the distance of three miles, the colours of the tribe were displayed, and the Arabs began to discharge their match-locks ; almost the whole men and children of Zebeer came running with the most evident and expressive marks of satisfaction, to welcome the arrival of their relations and their friends. Never did I behold more real and unaffected joy than in this instance. To a spectator, who had imbibed the common prejudices against the wild Arabs, as they are generally termed, and we find many weak enough to do so, it must have proved a sight of equal pleasure and surprise, to behold, after the absence of only a few months, the most affectionate and endearing embraces mutually exchanged, accompanied by the most unfeigned demonstrations of transport and delight. From the Sheick to the camel-driver all displayed the finery of Aleppo. They were clothed in their holiday suits, the purchase of their earnings ; nor were they forgetful of Zebeer, each brought some trifle for his friend or mistress. On our arrival in the village

we were accommodated with a large hall, next to the women's apartment. Coffee and pipes were served, and a breakfast of eggs and barley bread laid on a mat before us. I again wrote to Mr. Manesty for a conveyance for our baggage, as the caravan camels could proceed no further than Zebeer. On account of Mrs. Taylor, I requested the Resident to do his endeavours to accommodate her in the most convenient manner which he could. After waiting with some impatience till one o'clock, I determined to mount a horse, and proceed on to Buffora. Having procured a horseman as a guide, I accordingly set out at a little past one o'clock. On the west side of Buffora the country carries some appearance of cultivation for about three miles, but not a tree or bush was to be seen. About four miles from Zebeer I met a servant on horseback with a message, to acquaint me, that the country round having been recently under water, no carriage could possibly stir out of Buffora, and that therefore only horses could be sent. They were by this time in sight, accompanied by a very polite letter from Mr. Manesty, congratulating us on our arrival, and requesting our remaining

remaining with him at the factory during our stay. This he mentioned would not be long, as the honourable Company's cruizer, Intrepid, Captain Jervis, had been waiting dispatches from England for some time past. For three miles round Bussora the road was extremely miry and deep. At a distance it appeared like a continued lake, and seemed entirely to insulate the city of Bussora, and its surrounding date trees. I was rejoiced at the sight of the English flag flying on the factory-house, whither I directed my course, and where I arrived at half past three, and was received by Mr. Manesty, who had just sat down to dinner. The appearance of a good repast was by no means unpleasant to a person who had not enjoyed many of the luxuries of life since leaving Europe; there I experienced them in great variety; and to the politeness and hospitality of Mr. Manesty we were much indebted. We experienced the utmost attention from that gentleman, whose character and conduct as British Resident has gained universal esteem amongst the inhabitants of Bussora.

Mrs. Taylor and Mr. Blackader did not arrive till two hours after. After having refreshed



freshed ourselves with a night's repose, we were amused in visiting the city, and the gardens on the banks of the Shat-ul-Arâb, the name given to the river after the junction of the Euphrates and Tygris at Cornah, about forty miles above Bassora.

The city of Bassora, called by the Arabs Al-sura from Be-al-Sura, signifying the stoney soil on which it is built, has but little antiquity to boast. Constructed for the purposes of trade, and never having been the seat of sovereign power, it is not adorned with those structures which decorate the cities of the East. The Caliph Omar, in the fifteenth year of the Hegeira, wishing to combine the commerce of India, Persia, and Arabia, laid the foundation of this place near to the confluence of the Euphrates and Tygris. The Shat-ul-Arab empties itself at the distance of eighty miles into the Persian Gulf, and commands the navigation of the surrounding countries, with the coast of India, and the caravans of Persia and Arabia. Hither merchants from all nations resorted for the sake of traffic—Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Banyans, and Moors. The site of Bassora is low, and from this circumstance is much  
subject



subject to inundation when the river overflows its banks, or that they are cut down by the malignity of the Arabs, from revenge or other causes. To this the fallow looks of the inhabitants is attributed, proceeding from the noxious exhalations from the surrounding marshes. During the excessive heats, while the ground is still covered with water, the Europeans, who reside here, are particularly afflicted, and the ravages made by death has sometimes extended nearly to the total annihilation of all descriptions. The population is estimated at no more than 8000 souls, although from the circumference of the walls, it must have, at certain periods, exceeded ten times that number. We are told that in the year 1691 the city was nearly depopulated by the plague, no less than 80,000 having died of it. The capitation-tax, paid by the Christian inhabitants in Bagdad and Bassora, produces no more than 500 purses. The Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks, have alternately been masters of Bassora, which is another reason for its present reduced state. The wall which defends the city is flanked by round towers, and is of little or no strength. The Mussuleem who commands here is subordinate

ordinate to the Pacha of Bagdad: besides a few Turkish horsemen to protect his person the military force is very trifling. Architecture has been little considered in Bussora, for the houses are low, built of white bricks that have not been burnt, being only exposed to the sun to dry and harden; the clay of which they are made is remarkably fine and well cleaned, and mixed with white sand, chopped straw, and horse-dung; after which it is beaten with mallets into moulds made for the purpose. Wood is not at all to be procured, and the only substitute they have is the date tree, the wood of which is soft and spongy, and consequently of neither durability nor strength. The gardens of Bussora form its chief delight, and the fruit is exquisite. Rose water of the first quality is distilled here, which is exported in great abundance to India and Aleppo. Peaches, dates, apples, pears, and grapes, are in profusion; and notwithstanding the badness of the climate, it is a land flowing with milk and honey. This may appear extraordinary, when we mention that the Desert almost approaches to the very walls; but the gardens within and those immediately without the gates

gates supply abundantly in culinary articles the wants of the inhabitants. The river affords fish of excellent flavour; the Desert, venison and game; the neighbourhood of Bussora, wild hogs, partridges, and snipes: water fowl are every where to be found: kids are reared, and sheep fattened in perfection, and domestic fowls are in great plenty. To these luxuries we may mention the wines of Persia and Schiraz, so sublimely celebrated by the poet Hafez, and we find even those of the plains of Burgundy brought by camels from the shores of the Mediterranean; but this delicacy belongs only to the sumptuous and hospitable roof of the English factory. The trade of Bussora, in the time of the Caliphs, was of very considerable importance, as being the grand depôt for the commodities of India brought by the Persian Gulf. From this place it was transported on camels to the northern provinces of Persia, to Arabia, and the Mediterranean Sea. The barbarity and ignorance of the Turks, and the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, has tended exceedingly to diminish that part of commerce which related more immediately to the state of Europe, and the other part

is

is severely burdened by heavy restrictions. What now remains is chiefly in the hands of the Armenians, but it is of little or no value. Pearl from Bahrein and other parts in the Gulf of Persia are made use of as a remittance to Europe. A small quantity of Surat piece goods and Bengal muslins are disposed of for the use of the Turks and Arabs, with some English broad-cloth and thin woollens. The expences attending the factory established here by the East-India Company must overbalance the profits of the trade; but it is necessary to be sustained, in order to expedite intelligence by land, and at the same time to keep open the communication by the Desarts. The servants employed are, a Chief, a Resident, an Assistant, and Surgeon, with a small guard of thirty sepoy, commanded by a black officer of the rank of Lieutenant. The marine force is commanded by an officer, who is denominated Captain Pacha, or High Admiral, and is immediately under the control of the Pacha of Bagdad. It consists of five principal vessels, besides those kept for the protection of the rivers. The largest mount fifty guns; but in every respect they are miserable in the extreme.

The



The plague, as I have observed, has made, and continues to make great ravages. It is supposed to visit this spot every nineteen years. It is remarked, that the frequency of this terrible malady diminishes as you approach the East, and that where the olive tree flourishes it is only to be found. In India we scarcely know it, but the cities of Cairo and Constantinople have ever been its victims.

In Bussora there are few singularities to remark. The boats on the river, in which the inhabitants pass and repass from one shore to the other, are particularly constructed; they are round baskets made of strong reeds, and covered with thick leather: with a short paddle they are twirled about against a strong current, and have all the safety, though without the convenience of others of a better construction. The construction of these singular boats is derived from very remote antiquity, indeed as far back as the kingdom of Babylon. We are informed, " that they were invented by the Armenians to navigate the " river Tygris, and whose country lies to the " northward of the principal places on that " river. They made them with poles of " willow,



" willow, which they bent, and covered  
 " with skins : the bare side of the skins they  
 " put outwards, and they made them so tight  
 " that they resembled boards. The boats  
 " had neither prow nor stern, but were of a  
 " round form like a buckler. They put  
 " straw on their bottom. Two men, each  
 " with an oar, rowed them down the river,  
 " laden with different wares, but chiefly  
 " with palm wine. Of these boats some  
 " were very large, and some very small. The  
 " largest carried the weight of 500 talents.  
 " There was room for an ass in one of their  
 " small boats : they put many into a large  
 " one. When they had unloaded after their  
 " arrival at Babylonia, they fold the poles of  
 " their boats, and the straw, and loading  
 " their asses with the skins, returned to Ar-  
 " menia, for they could not sail up the  
 " river, its current was so rapid. For this  
 " reason, they made their boats of skin in-  
 " stead of wood ; and on their return to Ar-  
 " menia with their asses, they applied their  
 " skins to their former use." In construct-  
 ing their arches, in house building, from the  
 want of timber, they are obliged to form the  
 segment of a circle on the ground with  
 bricks

bricks and strong cement. It is thus placed on the wall in two parts, and afterwards connected by the central brick. This they find sufficiently strong to bear an arch of considerable weight.

While I remained at Buffora I had leisure sufficient to condense what I had observed relative to the character, temper, manners, and customs of the Arabs; and although this subject has been ably treated by different travellers, who, during a longer residence in their country than my own, are better qualified to do it justice, still I do not hesitate to state my sentiments with fairness and candour. With the impression yet warm on my mind, and with sentiments, I trust, too liberal to harbour prejudice or entertain spleen, I presume to offer what I collected during my stay amongst that singular people as the result of personal experience and observation.

The Arabs are universally allowed, in their own hordes, to possess the social virtues in an eminent degree, and particularly of fidelity to their promise, when a stranger seeks their protection, or is admitted to partake of their humble fare.

Climate, soil, and situation, have evidently, from the earliest ages, influenced the passions of human nature, and greatly assisted to form the characteristic of each distinct nation. These circumstances have had their due effect in regard to the Arabs, and they accordingly may be generally defined under four classes, corresponding to the different circumstances under which they exist.

1st. The Desert Arabs.

2dly. The Arabs inhabiting the banks of great rivers, or the peasant Arabs.

3dly. The inhabitants of cities.

4thly. The predatory Arabs.

The Desert Arabs are of two kinds, and are distinguished by the countries they possess.

The Desert, or wandering tribes, still answer to the description of the ancient patriarchs, continually moving with their wives and families from one place to another, where water is procurable, and where the earth affords subsistence to their flocks and herds; for their natural love of liberty induces them to prefer the Desert, where they range at will to fruitful plains and fixed habitations.

In the neighbourhood of great cities, or where the soil is generous and abundant, like the plains of Syria, the Arabs are quiet and inoffensive, and dispose of their milk and butter, with a proportion of their sheep and cattle, to the inhabitants of the towns. This class being of service to the community, are encouraged and protected.

In the Defart, between Aleppo and Bussora, where the earth is more sterile and unfriendly, the means of procuring subsistence becomes difficult and precarious; a circumstance which incites a spirit of activity and enterprise. The Arab, in this situation, discovers more of his true character; but the spirit of commerce has considerably contributed to soften his natural genius and temper.

Formerly the plunderer, for a stipulated sum, became the protector of the merchant, and the faith of an Arab was the pledge of his security. As mercantile intercourse became more frequent, and a spirit of rivalry and competition was roused in the different tribe to become the guards of the caravans, contention became general, and often ended



in doubtful conflicts, and sometimes in the ruin of the trader.

These disturbances seem now to have subsided: a more regular plan of conducting the caravan has taken place; and the declining power of the Turks is not able to prevent the Desert Arabs from participating in the advantages to which their natural rights originally entitled them.

An Arabian agent is maintained at Aleppo, to whom application is made for passes through the Desert, in the event of the caravan falling in with any of the principal tribes. This, for a certain sum of money, according to the number of camels, is readily granted, and afterwards divided amongst the different Sheicks, who pay the strictest attention to the passport of their agent.

The Arabs principally employed in this commerce are these of Zebeer, a walled town, within eight miles of Bussora. They are from habit, character, and liberal payment, faithfully attached to the interests of their employers. These people are subjects of the Montefcic Sheick, who presides over the neighbourhood of Bussora, and participates  
in



in the duties on all merchandise passing through his districts.

The wandering Arabs find it their interest to promote this communication: they breed the camels for the uses of trade, and find it a ready market from the inhabitants of Zebeer.

Although this system has the appearance of regularity and good order, it does not at all times insure the tranquillity of the Desert.

Society, when not linked together by the bonds of a well-regulated government, and cemented by mutual interest, must ever be liable to dissensions and discord; even different tribes meeting at the wells of the Desert, from the scarcity of water, involve disputes which sometimes terminate in blood: for this reason, the hordes carefully avoid any rencontre of the kind, especially should water be procurable within a reasonable distance. The irruptions and uncertain wanderings of the more distant tribes, who are not included in any share of the emoluments attending the protection of caravans, have occasionally obliged the hired guards to defend the property

perty of their friends, which they do with equal bravery and fidelity.

The Desarts on the confines of Egypt, of Arabia Petrea, and of Africa, are the most barren and desolated. The Arabs of these dreary plains entirely subsist by rearing camels for the purposes of conveying merchandise in various directions. Their disposition is less tempered with sensibility, and, like their country, less capable of culture than their brethren who inhabit a better soil: they frequently occasion more dreadful disasters than sufficient to overbalance their utility. These men, who at one time dispose of their camels to the merchant or traveller, and defend his person and property at the expence of their lives, at another, when not employed, become both his plunderer and his murderer.

Secondly. The character and disposition of the inhabitants of the banks of great rivers, such as the Euphrates, and Tygris, are easily and shortly defined; deceitful and cruel, they watch every opportunity to plunder and oppress, and it is only superior power that can keep a people in awe, who, not having the spirit to attack openly, endeavour by secret  
and

and perfidious means to accomplish their purposes. They appear a distinct race from the wandering tribes, and it would seem, that having fixed habitations, and being more immediately under the oppression and tyranny of the Turks, they have imbibed their bad qualities, and the vices of great cities unknown in the Desert. Those people unite the cultivation of the earth to the care of the date-tree, and the propagation of sheep; their principal grain is barley, and the banks of the Euphrates present a chain of villages surrounded by groves of palms; but where the cultivation extends little above a mile before it meets the barren Desert.

Thirdly. The inhabitants of cities are proud, superstitious, bigotted, and unfriendly to strangers. This reflection serves to corroborate the truth of a philosophical hypothesis, “as fixed societies increase in number, they also increase in wickedness and vice\*.”

That intercourse of strangers and the effects of commerce have added materially to the refinement and knowledge of human na-

\* Montesquieu.

ture, is equally just. At Buffora, Mocha, Juddah, and Muscat, where trade is encouraged and protected, the liberal and enlightened spirit of the inhabitants is evidently marked; whilst the people of Mecca and Medina, Cairo, Damascus, Antioch, and Bagdad, are averse to all nations not of their own persuasion, and regard unbelievers as unworthy the place they occupy on the earth.

Fourthly. The predatory Arabs are the banditti, the robbers, or the refuse and outcast of all the tribes; their numbers are luckily very circumscribed, and occasion little apprehension, and as little danger.

The Desert Arabs are good husbands, good fathers, and, within the circle of their tribe, (if the expression may be allowed) excellent citizens; naturally brave, fond of liberty, and particularly faithful to their promise. Detached from their particular society, they are avaricious, and, if aggrieved, vindictive. Addicted to thieving, they behold the property of every stranger as their own, and if not surrendered at discretion, they esteem themselves entitled to use compulsory measures to obtain the object they desire. Blood



is with them the price of blood ; and the death of any of the tribe is amply and strictly avenged. In these cases they are cruel ; but not so, unless opposition has been either the cause of death or wounds. An Arab, after having plundered, will protect the sufferer, and even accompany him to the end of his journey, or at least to a place of safety and rest : they are generous and faithful friends, but implacable and unforgiving enemies.

The Arabs have the particular characteristic of freedom \* arising from the sterility of their soil and their roving disposition, rather than from any cause or exertion of their own. The plains of Asia are famous from remote antiquity for being the seat of despotism and slavery. and, excepting in this particular instance, it has been the predominant feature of the inhabitants of extensive plains. Mountainous situations, or countries separated by great rivers and interfections of the sea, and the inhabitants of islands, have ever asserted their independence, while others, in different local situations, have tamely submitted to the yoke. We have only to regard

\* Vide Volney, vol. 1. p. 201.



our own quarter of the globe for the truth of this assertion, and to instance almost every European nation who has thrown off the shackles of arbitrary power, and we shall find that kingdoms answering to that description first caught the flame of liberty, and taught adjoining states the blessings of freedom and independence. Should we turn to Asia for any symptoms of liberty among nations living in settled society, we shall discover it only in the bosom of mountains which form strong barriers betwixt the inhabitants and the tyrants of the plain, or where they are shut up by impervious jungle or thick forests. It is amusing to observe, how similarity of local situation produces a similarity of customs and manners. It is remarked by Perouse, that the "Indians of Chili are no longer those Americans who were inspired with terror by European weapons. The increase of horses which are now dispersed through the interior of the immense Desarts of America, and that of oxen and sheep, which has also been very great, have converted these people into a nation of Arabs, comparable in every respect to those that inhabit the Desarts of Arabia. Constantly

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on horseback, they consider an excursion of two hundred leagues as a very short journey. They march, accompanied by their flocks and herds, feed upon their flesh and milk, and sometimes cover themselves with their skins, of which they make helmets, courasses, and bucklers. Hence it appears that the introduction of two domestic animals has had a decisive influence upon the manners of the tribes which inhabit the country from St. Jago to the Straits of Magellan. All their old customs are laid aside: they no longer feed on the same fruits nor wear the same dress; but have a more striking resemblance to the Tartars, or to the inhabitants of the banks of the Red Sea, than to their ancestors who lived two centuries ago\*."

The effects of the Mahomedan religion, which has greatly contributed to the establishment and permanency of slavery, has not in this respect had an equal influence on the Arabs. The soft effeminacy of the Moguls, Persians, and Mahomedans in general, is lost in their active and ever-changing spirit. The necessities of an Arab call forth the powers of both body and mind: they have

\* Perouse's Voyages round the World, ch. 3.

neither time nor inclination to become slaves : nor would their subjection yield sufficient benefits to counterbalance the hazard, difficulty, and uncertainty of the attempt.

Intercourse with women, which in all situations and stages of society is uniformly found to diminish the natural ferocity of man, and mould him to gentleness and mildness of manners, has done nothing for the Arabs: though their honour lies in the virtue of women, they are not admitted either as friends or companions : they have no opportunity to practise the arts and blandishments which form the elegance and fashion of men, and the grace and pride of European Courts. "A Court without women," said Francis the First of France, "is like a year without a spring, and like a spring without roses." Women are by the Arabs put at greater distance than the inhabitants of the Haram or Seraglio, where they hold converse of love with their masters, and sometimes influence his actions equally in small as in important events. Shaw Jehan, overpowered by the allurements of love, in granting a request to a favourite slave, commanded her to appear no more in his presence, for, said he, "I will  
" not

“ not have my justice perverted by my weakness:”—a rare instance of virtue in the despotic government of the Moguls, but what is strictly adhered to in an Arab horde, where that amiable weakness is never permitted to interrupt the current of inexorable justice.

The wife or concubine of an Arab must take her part in the management of the flock. In this situation, she is more a slave than a mistress, and the impulse of love gives way to the utility of servitude. Hence it is, that the Turks, Persians, and Moguls, from difference of situation, are more susceptible of tender feelings, such as depend more on desire than principle, than the Arabs of the Desert, who are unacquainted with the silken bonds that influence the passions and direct the judgment to ease and refinement: for the luxuries of the East have no ways defaced the original character of the Arabs. Ablution they frequently perform; but not in the effeminate manner of the Turks: nor do they often indulge in the warm spring of a mineral bath which is frequently met with in the bosom of the Desert. Their vigour is unimpaired by that lassitude, whether of the corporeal



corporeal or mental faculties, which, arising from many causes, enervates the inhabitants of the East.

The wants and desires of an Arab are confined to a narrow circle. His clothing is moderate and simple. The lower class in hot weather are almost entirely naked; and when cold, they clothe themselves in coarse woollens, or covering made of wool and camel's hair. The Sheicks and principal men are fond of the mixed stuffs from Surat, and even of silk itself, with fine cotton or silk turbands of green or red, and Turkish boots made of dyed leather, principally yellow: in their arms they are particularly choice: English pistols in particular are highly esteemed: their own match-locks of Aleppo, and sabres of Damascus, they prefer, and I believe deservedly, to any other.

In their food they are abstemious to a wonder, refraining from all kinds of wine and spirituous liquors. They live chiefly on barley-cakes of unleavened bread, the fruit of the date-tree, and the milk of every beast in the flock. Animal food is but rarely distributed: hares they have in great abundance, wild hogs, which is not forbidden by their law,



law, and variety of other game. As dextrous marksmen, either with single ball or a missile weapon, they find great resources in their skill and perseverance. When a camel, or other animal dies, he is cut up and divided among the tribe; but it is seldom they put to death either a sheep or a goat to gratify their appetite. Coffee several times a day, and smoking tobacco with the long Turkish pipe, constitute their only luxury.

It is astonishing that a people with few wants should be avaricious and greedy. They may be truly said to be poor in the midst of wealth: their flocks and herds are numerous: at the age of three years their horses are sold to advantage at the great marts of Buffora, Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, and they carefully reserve the mares to produce them colts: a large breed of asses is also encouraged among the Arabs: they are strong and hearty, and subsist on the little food to be picked up, and which is particularly scanty in the summer when every blade is dry: they are used in carrying salt from the sea coast to the villages and towns, and which constitutes a considerable trade; but the principal and most useful animal is the camel, without whose  
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aid the Arab could not subsist in the midst of the inhospitable Desert: their expences are trifling: none but the great possess tents, and they have little besides their dress and arms, a few copper dishes, a Turkish pipe, and a coffee-pot: they never boil, and have no use for cooking utensils: a clear fire, or the decaying embers are alone necessary to bake their bread and prepare their meat: powder, lead for ball, a knife, with a few silver trinkets, common carpets, a coverlid, and ammunition-box, and crest or dagger, make up the catalogue of an Arab's property.

In very cold weather the Arabs collect the dry bushes and preserve constant fires by day and night: when they sleep they keep close together, well covered over, and the natural heat of their bodies bids defiance to the intense cold of the Desert. The chiefs, by increasing the number of their long gowns, effect the purpose of warmth; and I have counted no less than twelve, one over the other, an incumbrance scarcely to be credited, and which reduces to mediocrity the multitudinous coverings of a Dutchman.

The wandering tribes of Syria are better clothed and lodged than those of the Desert:  
every

every family has a canopy made of strong materials, and principally of coarse wool or camel's hair, sufficient to turn the rain for a considerable time. In the cold weather, the sides, which are left open in summer, are built up with the bushes, and form a warm and comfortable shelter.

The Arabs are extremely slovenly and dirty in their persons, indelicate in their food, and remarkably jealous of their women, whom, as I have already observed, they keep in subjection and servitude.

The soil of the Desert is various, and every where uncultivated. The banks of the Euphrates and Tygris, already noticed, yield abundantly to the hands of the husbandman, till this fertility is checked by the Desert at an inconsiderable distance.

The most unfriendly soil between Aleppo and Buffora is the salt-grounds, extending, in some situations, more than twenty miles in every direction. They appear like an immense lake of still water bounded by the horizon, and where the smallest vegetation is every where denied; during the summer months the intense heat of the sun allows no resting-place for the sole of the foot, and the

Arabs, who do not travel on camels, after their day's journey, find their feet scorched and in blisters.

The next in point of sterility is formed chiefly of stones, connected and scarcely affording, from their numbers and depth, the possibility of vegetation: for miles in the dreary waste no animals are to be seen, besides numberless flocks of plovers which every where abound.

The sandy soil is not so barren as either of the former. It is interspersed with large tufts of strong bent or grass, at the distance of a few feet, but no other herbage vegetates in so unfriendly a situation. The grass is of a nature to afford some nourishment to the cattle, although little can be expected from the produce of so arid a plain.

A light mixture of sand and clay is productive of many aromatic herbs, which in the spring put forth their exuberant flowers in great fragrance. In the summer they are burnt up by degrees by the heat of the sun, and in the winter the powers of vegetation are checked by the excessive cold, and the half-withered shrubs is the only food of the camels.

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The best soil consists of a strong loam, extremely black, and of a soapy consistence, arising from its richness, the want of cultivation, and the stagnation of the water at certain seasons on the Desert. On this soil the aromatic herbs shoot forth to a considerable height, sometimes from four to five feet, and it is highly capable of agriculture; but this is rarely met with till you approach the banks of the Euphrates, more particularly near the district of Bussora, and the only situations on the Desert that I could perceive any appearance of either art or industry.

In the beds of rivers, where their waters are absorbed, or where it has stood in the winter, short sweet grass is to be met with, but it is generally intermixed with the shrubs of the Desert. The greatest part of the grass is coarse and unsavory.

When provender is scarce, the Arabs feed their horses and camels, when on journies, with barley, dates, barley-flour made up into balls, and sometimes barley bread; their sheep, goats, asses, and cattle are left to shift for themselves.



The climate of the Defart may be divided into quarters, and partakes of the natural variety, according to the seasons of the year.

From the situation of Arabia, defended by neither mountains nor chains of hills, like the generality of other countries, and where there is consequently no boundary of sufficient magnitude to break the violence of the elements, the contrast and vicissitudes of the weather is remarkably different from that of other nations in the same parallel of latitude ; the heat is more intense, and the cold more intolerable.

The spring and autumn are temperate ; but the summer, from the end of May to September, scarcely to be endured, and the winter, from November to April, distressingly cold ; besides the Defart being wet and disagreeable, as I experienced on my journey : and I may safely say, that an idea of cold was never impressed on my mind with sufficient force till I felt the freezing cold of Arabia Deserta. The ice attached itself to our whiskers ; every pool was frozen over, and it was not till twelve o'clock in the day that we could procure water from the skins we had

had for the purpose ; and the Arabs were frequently obliged to break the ice with large hatchets, the labour of hours, to obtain a supply for our journey, or to permit the camels to drink.

I shall now say a few words on the different modes of travelling between Aleppo and Buffora. In whatever manner a traveller may be inclined to prosecute his journey, he should unequivocally appear to place the greatest confidence in his Arab conductors. This will bind the Arab to him, and direct those feelings of honour to his protection and safety, in which his mind, in certain instances, is particularly susceptible.

Should expence be an object with the traveller, he should accompany a Tartar or Government express, or hire a few Desert Arabs, who, mounted on dromedaries, will travel fifty miles a day, and so reach Buffora in sixteen days. In this situation a traveller must be contented to fare with the Arab, and to spread his carpet at night on the barren Desert, with an unclouded sky for his canopy.

Should the traveller have comfort in view, a caravan must be hired at the expence of five

or six hundred pounds : for this sum from forty to sixty armed men may be obtained, and twenty camels for himself, to convey water, tents, and other necessaries. This force will be sufficient to protect him against the roving predatory Arabs ; for the principal Sheicks, I have already hinted, are paid for permission to pass the Defart. In this mode, early in the spring or summer, the journey may be performed in twenty-one days, though not comfortably ; and, if expedition is not much required, I would advise thirty-six days being allowed. Either of these modes is equally secure ; but the first is disagreeable and unpleasant to an European, who is not accustomed to ride like an Arab, and to sleep with a single covering on the barren Defart, while his dromedary picks up a scanty subsistence, to drink bad water, and to eat dates and barley bread. For these reasons, I condemn Europeans being ever employed to carry dispatches either out or home, where expedition is required. It is safer and cheaper to dispatch three expresses by different routes, than to trust one European. Letters in cypher falling into any hands can be rarely attended with bad consequences ;

quences ; and it would be hard indeed if one did not escape.

The second mode is attended with great expence and delay ; not so much the delay on the Desert, as the preparations necessary for a person travelling in the style of an Eastern prince, with his guards, scouts, tents, and an innumerable list of expensive and unnecessary things. At either Aleppo or Busfora an outfit of this kind would require from ten days to a fortnight ; but the circumstance of there being seldom any preparations ready for a journey not often undertaken, and the removal of our Consul from Aleppo, will considerably add to a traveller's distress and inconvenience.

A gentleman taking this route for curiosity should allow sufficient time to examine the ruins of ancient castles and towns he sometimes finds near to his route ; and the ruins of Tadmora or Palmyra would repay his curiosity, if there was nothing further to gratify his inquiries.

He should also allow himself sufficient time to partake of the amusements the Desert affords in hunting and shooting. There is no place in the world where coursing

could be practised with so much pleasure. The Arabs have excellent greyhounds, but their hawks are superior to any other in the universe. Hawking on so extensive a plain, where a horse can gallop in any direction, must, to an amateur, be superlatively delightful.

In the neighbourhood of Aleppo, particularly the Black Mountains, and near to Sfiri, partridges are very plenty; there are few on the Desert, excepting in the summer at certain places, where they collect for water. A few teal and wild duck are sometimes seen, and also birds of the gregarious kind, something about the size and colour of a black partridge.

Ravenous animals are scarcely to be met with. A few lions near to the banks of the Euphrates, and some hyenas, jackalls, and foxes, make up the number of the carnivorous tribe. The little jerboas, playing their fantastical tricks, and glistening in the sun round the mouth of their hiding holes, are every where plenty. The quickness of their eye prevents their being shot. I have frequently attempted it without effect, as they generally cover themselves on perceiving the flash.



flash. It is a certain fact in natural history, that this little animal is exactly similar to the kangaroo of the southern hemisphere, but in miniature, and who, like them, are remarkably playful, and taught, when brought to this country, a variety of amusing tricks. In shape and colour they are perfectly similar, and particularly in the shortness of their forelegs, and the length of their hind ones. The colour of the jerboa is like that of a hare. They are no larger than a rat: they are, beside, inhabitants of the same latitude, although in different hemispheres. Unable to walk, they jump about, and both correspond in the erectness of the tail, and in manner and action.

In the neighbourhood of Buffora game in greater variety and number is to be met with. On the river, duck, teal, and wild geese, are innumerable, while the banks afford wild hog in great plenty, the largest and fattest I ever saw. Shooting them with rifles, or attacking them on horseback with lances and spears, is a noble and manly exercise. The partridges, in the date-groves and gardens in the neighbourhood of Buffora, are a much finer bird, and larger in size than ours in England, and with good dogs afford excellent diversion.

version. Snipes are also numerous. The Defart, near to Buffora, produces the hybarra, a most beautiful bird of a cinnamon colour, nearly as big as a turkey, delicious in flavour, and esteemed among the Arabs as the first game produced in their country. I have seen them followed for half a day, and at last shot with a single ball. Their flight is slow, and they trust more to their cunning and swiftness of foot than to their wings; and it is with great caution and difficulty that an Arab, when he alights from his camels, gets within sixty or eighty yards of the game in which he is in pursuit.

Some travellers have recommended a route to India by the Little Defart: this communication is also by the way of Aleppo, and from thence to Hilla on the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to Bagdad, and down the rapid stream of the Tygris to Buffora: the journey from Aleppo to Hilla may be performed in fourteen or sixteen days; from Hilla to Bagdad in two more; and down the Tygris to Buffora in five or six. To this plan I see but little objection, provided the traveller can procure a boatman who will undertake to give

give up the general practice of coming to anchor every night: but the stream of the Euphrates not being so rapid as that of the Tygris, travellers who do not hire caravans on their own account, and who have arrived too late for the annual Buffora caravan, track up the rivers to Hilla, from whence they cross over to Bagdad by land, thence they meet the regular caravans for Aleppo.

The caravans of merchants consist from 1000 to 2000 camels, who are sometimes escorted by a body of 300 armed men.

There is generally one grand caravan of this kind, from Buffora to Aleppo, that sets out in June or July, and returns from Aleppo the end of the year; they take from forty-five to seventy days in performing the journey, but a small caravan can accomplish it in twenty-five or twenty-six days.

From Bagdad two yearly caravans reach Aleppo; this journey over the Little Desert takes up from twenty-eight to thirty-six days.

A party of gentlemen proceeded over-land in the year 1778, from Bombay, by the route of Hilla, Bagdad, Aleppo, Latachea, and Venice, to England; one of the party assured

fured me, the delay and inconvenience was immense: they were obliged to disembark from the large boats on which they left Buffora, and to go on board small canoes, long before they reached Hilla, leaving all their baggage behind. The guide apprehended so much danger at different villages on the river, that camelines, the coarse woollen cloaks worn by the Arabs, were thrown over the travellers to conceal them from view; in this manner, like contraband goods, half suffocated, they were smuggled to Hilla. Nothing in the world would induce this gentleman again to undertake the same route, for, beside the danger and expence, he was ten months in getting home.

Another relation which I had, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to prevent any traveller from returning to England by the Little Desert, and which confirms the assertion that the inhabitants on the banks of the Euphrates are faithless and sanguinary in the extreme.

Mr. Brodie, Mr. Stark, Captain O'Meara, and some other gentlemen, in the year 1783, undertook a journey to England, by the way of Buffora; on their arrival there in the  
month



month of December following, after a tedious passage of six weeks from Bombay, they found the Defart in an unsettled state from the private disputes of the Arab chiefs. These gentlemen, through the medium of Mr. Latouche, endeavoured to obtain an escort of Zebeer Arabs, and advanced a sum of money for the purpose of procuring guards and camels, but in this their expectation fell short, for they had the mortification to learn that the camels they had purchased on the Defart, by means of the Arabs, were plundered by their enemies, and all their preparations entirely destroyed: this determined the party to track up to Hilla in boats, from thence to cross over to Bagdad, and to pursue their journey to Aleppo by the route of Mosul, Jesseera, Orfa, and Bir.

A gentleman of their party, Mr. Hare, formed a resolution of setting out in company with a Frenchman, a Greek, and an Armenian merchant, attended by their servants, and they accordingly embarked on the Euphrates and proceeded up the river.

The day after, Mr. Brodie and his party followed. Mr. Latouche had taken the precaution of writing to the principal men or heads



heads of the different tribes and villages on the river, and accompanied one letter in particular with a present to a person whose good intentions towards travellers he had reason to suspect.

No man ever deserved better at the hands of the Arabs, or was more highly respected and esteemed amongst them, than Mr. Latouche; his wonderful humanity and boundless generosity to the unhappy captives of Zebeer, had gained him their warmest affection. When Buffora was besieged by the Persians, he sheltered within his own walls, and under the protection of the factory and the English flag, the principal people, with their wives and families, and when the miserable inhabitants of Zebeer, according to the custom of the Persians to prisoners taken in war, became the slaves of their opponents, he ransomed them without distinction at his own expence,

With these advantages our travellers had little to apprehend, and as they understood the countries through which they meant to pass were in a tranquil state, after a detention of some months at Buffora, it was with pleasure they embarked with their equipage  
on

on boats of a size proper and convenient for the navigation of the river.

For some days nothing material occurred ; their progress was slow, but they were consoled with the idea of approaching home in peace and safety.

Our travellers, when they reached a village about 140 miles above Buffora, found a young man, son to the Sheick, for whom Mr. Latouche's present was intended, waiting for them. He was attended by a small guard, and charged with a note from Mr. Hare, highly expressive of the good treatment he had received from the Sheick: he also informed his friends that he had shewn to the Sheick his arms and Indian curiosities, and advised the like attention from Mr. Brodie's party, which they conceived to be an instance of extreme imprudence in Mr. Hare, and determined to observe a line of conduct totally different. They delivered the presents intended for the father into the hands of his son. After feeling the parcel which contained them some time with his hands, he requested that a part might be appropriated to himself, without the knowledge of his father. The gentlemen represented the

the impropriety of such conduct, and pointed out that the packet was sealed down, and consequently became a sacred deposit. The young man hastily replied, that he observed the seal which had given the impression hanging to the watch of one of the company, for his eyes were not idle in regarding the property of the party, and added it could be again easily affixed. Disappointment seemed to have little effect on the Arab's temper, for he very deliberately, three times during the interview, dispatched expresses to his father's village, which lay a few miles higher up on the banks of the Euphrates: during this conversation he expressed himself in the most friendly terms, telling them how happy the company of the travellers would make his father, and that he had provided largely for their entertainment. The travellers, though anxious to proceed, were delayed under various pretences, and even at last they were given to understand that they could not leave their present situation for that night. This they reluctantly complied with, and retired to rest into their own boats, as they were yet altogether unconscious of deceit or perfidy on the part of their conductor: they

took

took no particular care to be on the watch during the night, notwithstanding they had heard reports late in the evening not very favourable to their pretended friends.

These reports were intimated to their servants by some women on the banks of the river, who, from the natural softness and sympathy of the sex, were willing to apprise them of their danger ; they even informed Mr. Brodie's attendants that violence had been offered to the other travellers, and that they were plundered of their property.

At sun-rise they proceeded on their journey, accompanied by the young Sheick. The report of the preceding evening now gained considerable credit from the intelligence of several people they met on the river : before their arrival at the village where the entertainment was said to be provided, none of the party had the smallest doubt from the information given them, but that Mr. Hare and his unfortunate companions were murdered by the very people on whose protection they were about to throw themselves.

It was utterly impossible to avoid the village, and equally impossible to avoid receiv-

ing a guard from thence, as the Sheicks of the different villages on the river are entitled to partake of the plunder of an European traveller, under pretence of affording him protection.

Caution and determination were now requisite to shield our travellers from the wicked plot agitated against them. To confirm their apprehensions, the young Sheick had by this time landed from the boats to proceed on by land. Suspicion being awake, the arms were examined and distributed amongst the servants, and every thing put in the best order for defence that their situation would admit of: in this trying dilemma they landed at the village which the evening before had sheltered the most cruel assassins that ever degraded the name of men: the circumspexion of our travellers, the blunderbusses with which they were provided in particular, and the resolution they evinced, deterred the Arabs from commencing open hostilities. To corroborate the apprehensions of the party, the old Sheick was not to be found, no entertainment provided, and a number of armed men bespoke no symptoms of either safety or quiet.

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The Arabs of the village now no longer pretended to conceal the unhappy catastrophe of the preceding evening : they pretended to be much grieved, and asserted boldly that the accident had happened at the next village, whither they intended to escort Mr. Hare, had they not been prevented by the obstinate refusal of the unfortunate gentleman : they were, however, as they pretended, determined to escort our party in such a number as would effectually prevent the like accident. Some of these wretches went so far as to say that they had seen the mangled remains of the deceased, a hand, an arm, and a leg, in order to impress a horrid idea of the cruelty of the inhabitants of the adjacent village. These specious assertions only served to inflame the minds of our travellers, and to make them more resolutely determined to defend themselves to the last extremity ; they positively refused a guard from the village, and observed that they were able to protect their persons and the little property they had, but that they would nevertheless pay the accustomed sum in the same manner as if they accepted of their services. The party continued in a body during this conference

with their arms in their hands, whilst the Arabs began to be clamorous, and insisted that they were unjustly suspected. A few stones were thrown, and they continued assembling in a tumultuous manner. Our party resolved not to commence hostilities till they received a discharge of small arms from the Arabs, whose conduct and intentions towards them were no longer equivocal. On some further insults being offered, they levelled their pieces without any intention to fire: this proved not a little alarming to the Arabs, who immediately commenced a parley, and shewed a wish to accommodate the difference: they pretended they were sorry if any misunderstanding had taken place, and with seeming indifference permitted their immediate departure, though not without obliging the party to receive on board their boats seventy of their armed people.

The gentlemen kept together, and, contrary to their usual custom, embarked on the same boat, in which they could not prevent from thirty to forty of the Arabs from accompanying them. These unpleasant companions, during the day, affected to be much hurt at the distrust with which they were treated: they  
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were assured that it was not intended to shew greater mistrust of them more than of others, but it was the custom of their nation to travel with their arms in their hands. No cordiality could be supposed to exist on this occasion, and our party, on arriving at the village, dismissed their unwelcome companions. On their landing a melancholy tale was unfolded: Mr. Hare's cook, who had received five small balls in his neck, made known the whole of this disastrous story, and which he related in the following manner:—About an hour after the Sheick had received the note from Mr. Hare to dispatch to Mr. Brodie's party, that gentleman retired to rest. About ten o'clock he was attacked in his tachtrivan after he had got to sleep, and wounded with a spear, though not mortally: he attempted to defend himself, and actually got hold of his fowling piece, but was cut down by one of the Arabs. The fate of the others was not less calamitous; the French gentleman and the Greek were both killed, the Armenian miserably wounded, and the property plundered. This horrid and unparalleled act of perfidy and cruelty, so contrary to the characteristic of a Desert Arab, with whom any man that breaks

bread is perfectly safe and becomes from that moment his protégé, was determined on before the arrival of Mr. Hare. The inhabitants of the village our travellers were now arrived at had the most certain intelligence of their design, and had absolutely collected a number of their tribe in order to prevent its execution; on their march to execute so generous and noble an undertaking, accounts were brought of the unfortunate event, and the friendly Arabs returned to their houses.

A more shocking or a more perfidious action stands not upon record, or of a more trying situation for a small body encompassed by blood-thirsty and cruel murderers. The depredations committed by an highway robber is honourable in the extreme, when compared to an action that stamps the perpetrators with indelible infamy and reproach, and draws to our recollection an enumeration of these horrors at which humanity recoils.

The hardships of their journey were not confined to this circumstance alone. After their arrival at Bagdad, the residence of a Turkish Pacha of considerable influence, they might have expected at least protection, and being free from insult,

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The Pacha, it is true, allowed them two Agas for the immediate attendance on their person, and agreed to provide them with horses at his own expence to Aleppo ; but at Mosul two of the gentlemen were robbed in the face of day, when walking to observe some ruins, and attended by an Aga, but whose influence was of no avail : on another occasion, when the party had left the caravan-ferai, where they had slept the night, excepting one gentleman, the door was shut upon him, and he was detained inside, although, on being missed by the others, they returned with the guard, and demanded admittance, but which was not granted till after the payment of a considerable sum.

Under all these degrading and humiliating circumstances, no redress was to be procured. On complaint being made to the Pacha, or governor of towns and provinces, some foolish or trifling excuse was substituted in the room of material justice. The fact was, the imbecility of the Turkish government was by no means equal to check the arrogance and unbounded insolence of their Arabian subjects, who publicly exclaimed that Christians had no business in their country, and



consequently must submit to their unjust and violent demands.

The Pacha of Mosul himself declared that he had not a man that he could confide on to protect our travellers, on their approaching journey to Aleppo, till such time as a detachment of his cavalry arrived.

They made their appearance in a few days, when a certain number were ordered to escort the travellers.

In proceeding onward their caravan increased considerably from the villages they had passed. Numbers of people looking for protection included themselves in the number; but they were as little secure as if they had been left a prey to the predatory Arabs of the Desert. These minions of despotism, whilst they desired the English gentlemen to remain quiet and undisturbed spectators of their infamy, surrounded the unfortunate victims, from whom they extorted money and valuables: this circumstance regularly happened when a sufficient number of fresh adventurers were collected, and before long these poor people, by frequent repetition, were deprived of every part of the property they had originally set out with, and left destitute of support,

port. It was now time for the guard to think of extorting something from the English gentlemen. They were arrived within two days' journey of Aleppo, when the horsemen made a demand of a certain sum. The party refused in the most peremptory terms to give a parah before their arrival at the capital whither they were bound by the Pacha's orders to be conducted. The Turks attempted every means short of open violence to compel the payment of their demands, and when they found it useless and ineffectual to urge it further, they to a man galloped off, leaving the gentlemen to make the best of their way to Aleppo. Fortunately some of their caravan knew the track, and readily undertook to conduct them. The remainder of the journey was performed with tolerable ease, and with far more quiet and regularity than they had before experienced from their licentious and turbulent guards.

The conduct of the better kind of Turks was at least civil and obliging ; in particular, in the district of Jессeera, the strangers were received with the greatest hospitality and kindness : they were loaded with provisions and escorted by some of the Governor's people

ple to the frontiers of their country :—a country cultivated to the highest perfection, and appearing with all the luxuriance of a garden. Our travellers, so much used to extortion, made some hesitation in receiving the superfluity of presents, dreading the return which might be expected from them; but to their astonishment, when the servant of the Pacha took leave, they not only most positively refused being paid for the provisions supplied them, but even would not accept of any gratuity for themselves.

The danger and fatigue of this journey exceeds belief, and it was with the most pleasing satisfaction that our travellers found themselves at Marseilles twenty months after their departure from Calcutta.

After all their disasters, they were under the necessity of undergoing the mortification of confinement in the Lazaretto at Marseilles for nineteen days, during which time their situation was rendered as easy and commodious as from the nature of the case with safety to the public could possibly be permitted. In the year 1720, Marseilles experienced the baneful effects of the plague, the most dreadful of all disorders incident to the human race.

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Their misfortunes and past dangers were forgotten in the prospect of soon seeing their native country, and in the hospitable and agreeable manners of the French nation.

On a general review of this subject, drawn from the impression which the various vicissitudes of the journey made on my mind, as well as from the genius and character of the Arabs, I would observe, which ever mode may be preferred by a traveller in crossing the Desert, that attention be paid in the observance of the following general maxims as contributing to his comfort and essential to his welfare:—

In the first place, never to display ostentatious finery and excite the crime of avarice in the heart of an Arab.

2dly. To observe an equality of temper to even the lowest Arab of your caravan, to forgive his little impertinent curiosity, smile at his wonder and surprise, and appear as much as possible to be on an equal footing.

3dly. In cases of petty thefts, or of being insulted, which is seldom the case, never to chastise the offender yourself; coolly represent the fact to the Sheick, who will do ample justice,

justice, and with more stricknefs than perhaps you would require.

4thly. Never to mix with strangers or quit your encampment, or wander into the villages or huts of other Arabs without a proper guard : those who are bound to protect you will most assuredly do it ; but you must by no means look for civil treatment without the precincts of your own tribe.

5thly. In every matter relative to the Desert be entirely guided by the Sheick : in short, appear to have no will of your own, but be entirely under his protection. The more confidence you appear to put in an Arab the better he is pleased, and the more he will find his honour interested, and consequently afford you safe escort and protection.

6thly. Put on the dress of the natives as soon as possible after your landing in a Mahomedan country, or even before, if you can procure it : and the dress I would advise to be correspondent to the manner in which you propose to travel, but never to be beyond that of the middling ranks of life.

Although it is scarcely possible to disguise yourself from the knowledge of a Turk or Arab, even with the help of whiskers, and observing



observing a strict silence, yet it evinces a respect for the people, and a wish to be considered on a friendly footing with the inhabitants, who feel themselves not a little gratified at this mark of attention, and will frequently confer a favour on this account when they would refuse common civility to any person in the dress of an European: upon the whole, it is a fact to be depended on, that the Arabians of the Desert pay more respect and attention to a Christian than they do to a Turk, for whom they entertain a rooted aversion and inviolable dislike.

To the intelligent observer of the human mind, and of the effect which from certain causes result from its operation, it will not be a matter of surprise that enmity should subsist between the Arabs and the Turks. The Arabs are the indigen of the soil, by whose means and influence the Mahomedan religion was established and disseminated, whilst the Turks are predators, who exercise the right by which their superiority was acquired in a manner the most arbitrary and overbearing. The Arabs, no less ferocious than their oppressors, submit unwillingly, with silent and sullen moroseness, to those extortions, and to that yoke  
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which, although they cannot totally throw off, is nevertheless but a faint and uncertain subjugation. The empire of the Turks was raised and propagated by the sword, aided by the institutes and precepts of a sanguinary religion; and the nations who have fallen under their power, let their religion be what it may, are regarded as inferior beings, and subjected to all the contumely and pride of their vanquishers. The means by which the Turks have acquired the dominion which they enjoy in Europe, and in Asia, is a proper object of inquiry, and it is not foreign to our purpose to trace the rise, progress, and advancement of their unwieldy and divided empire.

It has been already noticed that the progress of science has taken its course from the East to West, whilst irruption and conquest has been from the North to South. The contact of these discordant and opposite principles has ended in the total subversion of every thing noble, elevated, and ingenious. In climes, which have thus felt the influence of the sword, science has been long dormant: and it is only by a limited gradation that it has preserved, in its course, deriving improvement,

provement, though slowly, from the extensive and complicated intellect of man. The Celts and Teutons issued from their savage wilds on the borders of the Baltic and northern ocean, and over-ran the finest countries of Europe. The history of their hostile tribes must be left to the page of history, where the successes of the Vandals, Goths, Ostro-Goths, and Vizi-Goths, are fully elucidated. The Teutonic was the vernacular tongue of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, but is now lost in the different emanations of dialect into which it has branched out.. In Iceland it is still spoken; and it is remarkable that this island was the seat of learning when Europe was immersed in total darkness. The same remark is also applicable to Ireland and the Hebrides, particularly Icolm-kiln, where learning also found an asylum during the irruptions of the barbarians into Europe. The Fens or Venni from the banks of the Danube and the Euxine made similar depredations, and gave their language to Russia, Poland, and Slavonia.

The Croats and Wallachians, who are of the same race, are at this day as little civilised as their ancestors. It is a curious fact, that

that civilization has, in no period of history, visited the banks of the Lower Danube. The provinces, watered by this turbulent and rapid river, have, from the earliest ages, been the nursery of barbarism and ferocity, and from whence at this day the best warriors of the House of Austria are supplied. When we contemplate savage nature, although it is neither to be praised nor envied, it nevertheless impresses on the human mind traces of genuine and noble sentiments, which commands our admiration and respect. Courage may be considered as the first point of pre-eminence in nature: the precursor of subordination and aggrandizement, and the advancement of social order and regular governments. In my way to Valenciennes, in the month of August 1793, I visited the Austrian hospital at Brussels, where 4000 soldiers were languishing under the agonies of death and wounds. The manly and intrepid sufferings of those hardy fellows interested our sympathy and esteem in the liveliest manner. The Croats and Sclavonians, from the banks of the Drave and the Save, and the Wallachians and Moldavians from the banks of the Danube  
and

and the borders of the Black Sea, were here mingled together, and divided into different wards, according to the nature of their case, from slight gun-shot wounds to the most dreadful amputations which the human frame is capable to support. No complaints, no murmuring was to be heard. I was happy to see that they were well and carefully attended to. The wild and rugged appearance of these half savages, for they could be easily distinguished from the other Austrian and German troops by a marked asperity of character and carelessness for dress, occasioned me to ask the surgeon who attended us what were the strongest propensities and desires of those men: he replied, " Brandy, when they can procure it, and to " be again led against the enemy." He informed me, that in the month of June, the preceding year, a detachment of Wallachians arrived in Brussels barefooted, nor could they be induced to encumber themselves on the march with shoes and stockings. About this time Courtray was taken by M. Luckner, and the Imperial army was in sight of the French. Such was the impetuosity of the Wallachians, on hearing this intelligence, that



they demanded to be carried to the camp that was nearest to the enemy. So violent and clamorous were they in this demand, that it became necessary to assure them, no time should be lost, after they were refreshed from a march of 1500 miles from their own country, and that they were properly supplied with arms and ammunition, in granting their request.

It was reserved, however, for the Huns and Tartars, from the plains of Tartary, to invade the countries of their southern neighbours, and at different times to become the conquerors of India, China, Persia, and even part of Europe and Africa.

The smallest states, invigorated by energy of mind, desire of plunder, and restlessness of temper, have reared the greatest empires. But as organization, which is not founded on the pure and solid basis of virtue, and of public and private justice to individuals, must be ever subject to decay, so they as quickly have fallen into the abyss from which they had been formed. Amongst other tribes almost unknown and unnoticed, there existed in that track of country, situated on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, and extending towards

towards the lake Aral, a set of banditti, of the Tartar or Scythian race, who, following the general example of the times, seized on the kingdom of Armenia, then a flourishing and independent state, and named it Turcomania, after that of their own horde.

The origin of our Tartar and Scythian forefathers is a desideratum in the natural history of Man; no trace or probable account of these hordes has been transmitted either by our earliest historians, or handed down from oral tradition: indeed, the countries from whence they rushed like a torrent on their neighbours was unknown in the days of Homer or Hesiod. The ancients, prior to this period, considered that the only habitable part of the world was confined to the temperate zone, bounded on one hand towards the south by insupportable heat, unfit to be inhabited by man, and on the other, towards the north, by the regions of Tartarus, chaos, and eternal night. The pillars of Hercules was the utmost limit to the south, the ocean to the west, and the Boristhenes to the east. Beyond this river they knew a savage race existed, but of whose

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history

history or origin they knew nothing. The Elbe and the Baltic, and the 57th degree of north latitude, terminated their knowledge towards the Poles, regarding which all was doubt and uncertainty, and which were supposed to be envelopped in cold and darkness.

The first irruptions of these barbarian hordes were received by the ancients with astonishment and wonder, and the philosophy of the day was at a loss to account for the numerous warlike banditti that emigrated from the Wolga and the Don, from the Caspian and the platform of Tartary. This northern hive, the mother of nations, was divided into numberless hordes, who issued forth under their various leaders. As these hordes acquired by degrees possession of better cultivated countries than their own, they, from intercourse and the example of their more polished and industrious neighbours, became more stationary; they assumed, in some degree, a new character, approaching in some measure to civilization and order, and became independent districts, each subject to its particular khan. The progressive attainment of civilization was not only slow, but precarious,

precarious, and greatly depended on favourable and concurring circumstances to render it permanent and useful.

This emigration, from the banks of the Caspian, took place about the end of the 8th century, nearly two hundred years after the appearance of Mahomed, and while the Turcomans were yet Pagans, and unacquainted with his doctrines, or those of any established religion.

In the year 1038 Persia was dependent on the Saracens, the governor of which had been previously invested with the title of Sultan by the Caliphs. Tongrel Beg being at this time called in, with a body of Turks, to quell some intestine commotions, found means to obtain possession of that kingdom, and he and his followers embraced the religion of Mahomed. Their rapid success made them formidable to the Caliphs, whose seat of empire was Bagdad, and they were invited by them to serve as auxiliaries in their army, in order to suppress insurrections which then subsisted in their distant provinces. Tongrel Beg was appointed by the reigning Caliph in the year 1055, "Temporal Lieutenant of the commander of the Faithful:" from this



step the gradation was easy, and the whole power of the Kaliphat fell into his hands. The fertile country of Cilicia, now Caramania, did not escape, but like other countries, together with a part of Asia Minor, became his prey. At length the manners and habits of those successful adventurers, from religion and intercourse with more polished nations, was considerably changed, and the northern hordes of Tartars, emulous to acquire new territories, began to press on all sides, and to threaten the existence of the Turkish empire. Those barbarous tribes, like the waves of the sea, propelled each other, and forcing the Turks from Persia, obliged them, about the year 1200, to retire to Iconium in Cilicia, where they fixed themselves, and turned their arms still more to the south. Thirty-nine years afterwards a descendant of Gengis Khan seized on Bagdad, and circumscribed their power in that quarter, as the Mamalukes a little before had also done in India and Palestine. The greatness of the Turks was now evidently on the decline, for even their kingdom of Caramania was divided into small independent states. Under this toparchy the energy of the Turks was for a while suspended, till Osman,



man, or Othman, restored their former splendour, and laid the foundation of their present empire. This prince, a reputed descendant of the great Gengis, was sovereign of a small district in Caramania. His seat of government was called Kara-Chifar, where he assumed the title of Sultan, and laid the plans of his future elevation, and the basis on which it was founded now remains to be investigated.

The policy of Mahomed in the formation of his new religion led him to discover the means by which he could call into action the strongest energy of the human mind. Surrounded by delightful and productive countries, his aim was conquest, and his system aggrandizement. He found that opinion governed every action of man, and in the end would triumph over all opposition. It was necessary to provoke a stimulus, which by action and re-action should produce the effect, and he readily foresaw that its full force would be obtained by a renewal of those calamities which in the first ages of Christianity had involved the world in arms, and drawn forth thousands of willing and determined victims to the opinions

they had embraced. In his code of laws, abstinence was essentially necessary to subordination and health. Zeal was inculcated and strengthened by the liberal promise of plunder in the present world, and of the highest gratification of sensual pleasures in that to come. He strengthened his religion by the spirit of predestination, and the certainty of eternal happiness to those who should be killed in battle. The road was open to preferment from the lowest to the highest orders of his subjects, and strict discipline was every where preserved. He carefully studied the temper and disposition of his people, the effect of climate, and the passions resulting from it ; he contrived to work up the minds of his adherents to a pitch of religious frenzy, supported by bigotry and superstition, before which all resistance was in vain, and carried fire and sword in every direction, under the specious pretext of making proselytes to his new religion.

Othman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire, was possessed of abilities and enterprise ; he had powers sufficient to reason on causes and effects, and to draw from both the proper inferences and conclusions. That system  
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which had added so materially to the brilliancy of Mahomed's successors, could not fail of being equally advantageous to him, provided he could direct the current of opinion into the same or similar channels. Othman commenced his career by converting religion to the vilest purposes of rapine and devastation. The religious orders of all classes were directed to proclaim and enforce the domineering spirit of their ancestors, "that nothing was so worthy of a Mahomedan as reducing the whole universe to their law, and in particular to undertake the entire reduction of Christendom." As a prince of a military spirit, he put himself at the head of his army; he directed obedience and discipline, and his punishments were just, though severe and instantaneous. His object being conquest, he turned his attention to the reduction of the little states of Caramania, which he without difficulty subjected to his power. He now proceeded with his army towards Bithynia, a fruitful and pleasant country, bounded by the Bosphorus and Propontis on the west, on the south by Mount Olympus, on the north by the Euxine Sea, and on the east by the river Parthenius. This

kingdom

kingdom fell under the yoke, and he settled himself at Burfa, or Prufa, a large and populous city, where he established the capital of his new empire, and to which nearly the whole of Asia Minor was speedily added.

To Othman succeeded a race of princes, who, like him, united to energy and personal courage, that system of devastation, rapine, and sanguinary cruelty, which stamped the character of the Turks above all the nations of the earth. From 1308, the year which terminated the life of Othman, they continued in a continual career of victory, till, under the reign of their great lawgiver, Solymán the Magnificent, they attained the summit of their perfection, and in particular they excelled all other countries of their time in the military art: at this period the Turks were doubtless the first nation in the world, for the arts and sciences were only beginning to beam their kindly influence over Europe. During their original successes, their sovereigns were contented with the appellation of Sultan, and it was not till after the taking of Constantinople that they assumed the title of Emperor. To mark the gradation by which they rose to their exalted  
pitch

pitch of power and greatness, it need only be observed, that in the year 1362 the Turks took Adrianople from the Greeks, which they made their seat of empire, and by the year 1393, Bajazet the First had conquered Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the greatest part of Messia and Bulgaria. In the year 1445, Amurat the Second took the Peloponesus and all Greece. Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, long and successfully opposed him; he led his faithful adherents with unexampled courage and perseverance, and repeatedly defeated the Turks, to whom he was a continual scourge, till death deprived his country of his patriotic efforts in the cause of liberty and independence. The Turks were now firmly fixed in Europe, and had left the Greek emperors little beside the city of Constantinople: neither were they left long to possess the last stake of their original greatness. On the 29th of May, 1453, the city was sacked by Mahomet the Second; this event was marked by acts of barbarity and cruelty shocking to humanity. Constantinople exceeded in grandeur and richness all the cities in the universe, when it fell a prey to the rapacious grasp of the Turks. Baja-



zet the Second followed the footsteps of his father Mahomet, whose good fortune did not forsake him. Solyman the Second, named the Magnificent, turning his arms to the East, in the year 1534 took Bagdad, all Affyria, and Mesopotamia, then subject to the crown of Persia: in 1574, Selim the Second overran Moldavia and all Wallachia, took the island of Cyprus and part of Dalmatia from the Venetians. The enmity of the Turks seemed now to be particularly pointed against this republic. About the middle of the 17th century commenced the great contest for the island of Candia: it had always been the policy of the Turks, on the appearance of discontent or broils at home, to turn the attention of their subjects to foreign wars; and it was an established maxim, that it was not permitted, for the emperor of that nation to remain indolent at home, possessing only the dominion which had been handed down to him from posterity: but it was his duty, by continued and increased exertions, to accumulate more and more, and extend the faith of Mahomet to the extremities of the globe.

In the year 1645, Ibrahim landed 74,000  
men

men in Candia, but the famous siege did not commence till his successor Mahomet the Fourth, on the 11th of May, 1667, began the attack. During the siege not less than 40,000 Christians and 120,000 Turks fell on both sides. Candia surrendered in 1669; at which time it was observed by De la Quillatiere, a French traveller, on the spot, "that the difference between the Turks  
 " and other European powers, in martial  
 " discipline, consisted in the former being  
 " more obedient to their officers, having  
 " more unity amongst themselves, being  
 " more sober and less fugitive."

We have now traced the empire of the Turks from its origin to the zenith of its glory. Since that period to the present time it has been and still continues to be on the decline: as it is a dominion not formed for durability by reciprocal laws between the sovereign and the subject, we need not be surprised at its sudden dissolution: when that event shall take place, the smallest vestige of its power will be totally obliterated. A power founded in blood and usurpation, whose annals are an useful lesson, and afford but

but too many instances of the depravity of the human heart.

Captain Jervis, being now recovered from a severe attack of a malignant fever, occasioned by the stagnant water which surrounded Buffora, a complaint at this time common to all the inhabitants, and the Resident having finished his dispatches for India, we embarked on the *Intrepid*, a Company's cruizer, mounting fourteen six-pounders. On the afternoon of the 24th of January, 1790, at six o'clock, we weighed anchor from the *Shat-el-Arab*, or river of Buffora, and with a favourable wind and strong current we sailed along its delightful banks, covered with date trees, and exhibiting a most pleasing and verdant appearance; it seemed one continued garden. The water of the river, although of a whitish colour, and extremely muddy, after standing a few hours the sediment falls to the bottom, and leaves it light, pure, and pleasant to the taste.

January 25th. Early this morning we passed the site of old Balfora, so famous in the *Arabian Nights'* Entertainments, now in ruins. Its remains are on the Persian side, above a mile from the river, and it is said  
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in former times to have been very large and magnificent. We continued our course to the flats which are formed by an immense body of water passing over the shallow banks at the bottom of the Gulf of Persia, and for many hours we lost sight of land, without beginning to deepen our water beyond four fathoms. There is but one channel by which a ship of any burden can approach the entrance of the river, and there is not a land-mark of any kind. It becomes therefore necessary for every ship to receive on board a pilot of the country. The one we had got was not only extremely ignorant, but also timid. At four o'clock, with the lead going, we suddenly shoaled on water under three fathoms. This occasioned some degree of alarm, as the wind was fresh, with a considerable swell, in place of deepening our water, it became more shallow. The pilot by this time appeared lost and stupid, and in the course of a few minutes the vessel struck with great violence; the shock was so great, that those above lost their footing, and fell on the deck. We however bounded off, but in a few seconds struck again, and the third time it happened our rudder was broken in

two immediately below the counter. As we had no rudder chains, it sunk from the weight of the iron work necessary to keep it together. It was now impossible to guide the vessel; the sails were fluttering about, and we expected every moment that the vessel would go in pieces. Nothing could be seen around but a wide expanse of sea. The evening was coming on, and we had only one small boat to depend on. Luckily for us, one side of the channel was soft, whilst the other on which we struck was sandy and hard. The head of the ship took the direction of the former, and fixed herself in a bed of mud, so as to become incapable of motion. The sails were quickly handed, and an anchor let go, and the sea continued to make breaches over us. Night coming on, our situation was not much to be envied, and we had time to reflect on what was most proper to be done. After consulting with Captain Jervis, I determined to dispatch our boat in the morning with the pilot to Mr. Manesty at Buffora, requesting his immediate assistance. We had but little rest, and by break of day I forwarded by that conveyance the following letter :

TO



" TO SAMUEL MANESTY, ESQ.

" Resident for the Affairs of the English Nation at Buffora.

" SIR,

" IT is with great concern I acquaint you of the situation of the Intrepid from the loss of her rudder, the particulars of which you will be informed of by Captain Jervis.

" The packet entrusted to my care becoming now a matter of serious consideration, especially if the machine now constructing on board should not fully answer the purpose, I have therefore to join in the request made by Captain Jervis for assistance, and to beg that you will provide a proper country boat to carry the dispatches to the Presidency without loss of time, should it become necessary for the Intrepid to refit at Buffora or Bushire. On the arrival of such assistance and boat at the Bar without finding the vessel, it will then be necessary for them to join us with all speed at Bushire, in order to escort us down the gulf. I am unacquainted with the situation of Bushire in regard to conveyance, and yet at a loss to say how the machine may an-

fewer; our dependance must therefore rest on your exertions.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your very obedient Servant,

“ JOHN TAYLOR.

“ INTREPID, BUSSORA BAR,

“ 25th Jan. 1790.”

We now began to turn our thoughts to the equipment of a steering machine, by which we might, as the weather was by this time moderate, reach the port of Bushire. We had heard of such constructions, but no one on board had an adequate idea how it was to be made: the carpenter set to work, but he performed his task in so bungling and clumsy a manner, that it was very soon discovered that his labours would prove totally ineffectual. Mr. Blackader, whose fertile imagination had from the beginning of our misfortune been busily employed, offered his services: with the assistance of a spare top-mast which we had on board he commenced his operations, and in a little time, by the means of his directions, a temporary rudder was finished, which answered the purpose much beyond our expectations. The mast was cut to

to a length, which allowed about two feet and a half of the smallest end to be immersed in the water, while the other was attached by a small cable to the rudder-post under the counter: this end of the mast was covered with mats and old sail-cloth, in order to prevent its too violent friction or knocking violently against the rudder-post, by which the safety of the ship might have been materially endangered: that end of the mast which was intended by its loco-motion to guide the vessel was rendered more powerful by thin planks fixed on each side: from the railing of the quarter-deck short spars were made fast, one on the starboard and the other on the larboard side; from each of these ropes were reeved through small pulleys, which were made fast to the mast, rather lower than half way down: by this means we had the complete command, and could readily move the machine at pleasure. The appearance of the ship was I must allow rather ridiculous, and the length of our tail afforded an opportunity of passing many jokes at our own expense. It was fortunately, when we struck, the tide of ebb; the return of the flood

floated the ship, and enabled us to come to an anchor, after having searched for and discovered the proper channel. The wind being fair and very light, we resolved to make an attempt to get away.

31st. Accordingly we got the anchor up, and the small sails were set. To our great satisfaction we found the vessel in every respect obeyed our newly-constructed helm: we had during all this delay been exceedingly anxious for advices from Buffora. In the evening of the 30th the boat returned with a letter from the Presidency of that place.

“ TO JOHN TAYLOR, ESQ.

“ SIR,

“ THE Resident yesterday morning received your letter of the 25th instant, and we much lament the unfortunate accident which has happened to the Honourable Company's snow the Intrepid.

“ We have with pleasure taken every measure in our power to render the Intrepid assistance, and to expedite your arrival at the Presidency. In consequence of an application made by us to the Government of  
this



this place, two vessels belonging to the Pacha of Bagdad will depart from hence this evening on their way to the Bar of Bussora River, or to Core Abdulla, in one of which places we suppose that the Intrepid may be now lying, in order to render assistance to that vessel, and a third vessel belonging also to the Pacha of Bagdad will accompany them, in order either to attend the Intrepid to Muscat, or to afford you conveyance to that port, as may be found most expedient.

“ We enclose two Arabic letters from the Resident, the one for Sheick Calphan, the Governor of Muscat, and the other for the English Broker at that port, which in the event of your proceeding thither we request may be carefully delivered. They contain the necessary requests and orders for your being speedily supplied with a suitable conveyance from Muscat to Bombay.

“ We wish you a speedy and pleasant passage to Bombay, and we are, with esteem,

“ SIR,

“ Your very obedient humble Servants,

“ BUSSORA,

“ SAMUEL MANESTY,

“ 29th Jan. 1790.

“ HARFORD JONES.”

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The



The ships mentioned in the letter made their appearance in the evening of the 31st. When they came up with us, they hailed us and communicated their orders: they proved to be Turkish ships of war belonging to the Pachalic of Bagdad, the largest of which mounted twenty guns. After accompanying us to the road of Bushire, the two largest took their leave while we came to an anchor without any material occurrence.

February 1st. It being rather late, and the road of Bushire being at the distance of several miles from the town, we delayed going on shore till morning.

2d. At ten o'clock we left the ship, and did not reach the shore till half past twelve, when we landed on a hard beach, where we found Mr. Watkins the Resident waiting to receive us. This gentleman conducted us to the English factory where he resided, and where he politely requested us to take up an abode during the few days which the ship would be necessarily detained at this port: there were a few articles of trade on board, and some necessaries sent from Bassora, which were to be landed, and time was to be allowed for the Resident to make up his dispatches for Bombay,

bay, all which would take up three or four days. As our rudder had answered so extremely well, we had but little apprehension on that score, and we determined not to lose a moment on account of it. In case of accidents, Captain Jervis thought proper to procure a spare boom and a few spars, that we might easily replace any damage that should occur in our passage to the coast of Malabar: we had besides, if we chose, the advantage of the Turkish ship to convoy us to Muscat, where we could be provided with another conveyance, or with the assistance necessary to construct a rudder. Muscat is a considerable sea-port, situated in Arabia Felix, and carries on a great trade with Surat and Bombay: from this frequent intercourse, the voyage to India, with a favourable wind, not being more than eight or ten days, the Imaum, or Governor, and his subjects are on the terms of particular friendship with the English, and are more enlightened, and by far less strict than any other class of Mussulmen, in the Indian seas.

We were hospitably entertained at dinner by Mr. Watkins, and in the evening we took a walk to view the town. There is very

little worthy of remark in Bushire: it is small, and as wood is scarce in Persia, it is consequently poorly built. It is subject to an Arab, whose name is Sheick Nasseer, and who is tributary to that kingdom. The houses are constructed of white bricks, the same as those at Buffora. On account of the excessive heat, there is a particular room elevated above the flat roofs of their houses, which has the appearance of a square turret. In the walls there are interstices cut for the free admission of air, and this is in general the bed-chamber of the favourite Sultana of the family, for the men in the hot weather sleep in the open air on the tops of the houses. The English factory is not large but commodious enough, and from the walls being done over with a clay of light gray colour, it carries the air of cleanliness and coolness. The bay is large and shallow, and afforded but a poor appearance, there being only a few small vessels to be seen besides one large old ship, rendered quite useless: it seemed nearly as large as a sixty-four. This we were informed belonged to the navy of Nadir Shaw, and had lain neglected almost ever since his death. The trade is very confined,  
and

and is carried on chiefly by means of caravans, of camels, horses, and bullocks, with the famous city of Chiraz, or Schiras, the capital of the finest province of the Persian empire. Within fifty miles of this place are yet to be seen the ruins of Persepolis, the most magnificent in the world. The article of commerce with which the kingdom of Persia abounds are various; in particular, fine carpets, wrought silver and pearls, excellent tobacco, and cotton. The principal commodities taken in return, are, English broad-cloth, particularly scarlet and yellow. Manchester printed cottons were suggested as likely to answer the Persian market. Some of the most brilliant patterns were selected and sent to Bushire; but they by no means suited the taste of the Persians: what appeared extremely handsome in the eyes of an European was disregarded by that people; and the more simple, though perhaps not less elegant patterns, of their own were preferred. It might be worth while to carry the experiment a little further, and it would very well repay the trouble and expence, provided so material a branch of our manufactures could be introduced into Persia. The experiment

to

to which I allude is, to print on fine cotton, figures, such as are common in India and Persia, with the most vivid colours that can be procured, and, in short, by variety and attention to their national taste and character, induce them to become purchasers of those and such of our commodities as are the manufacture of Great Britain.

The Resident being provided with some good horses, and also with greyhounds for the breed, of which this country is remarkable, I wished much to make an excursion in the country. Mr. Watkins did not hesitate to make the offer of accompanying me, and early in the morning we set out together.

On quitting the town we entered on a very extensive plain, the soil of which was remarkably good. We saw but few villages, and those by no means populous. The country was not divided by walls or ditches of any kind, and not a tree was to be seen but such as grew close to the houses of the inhabitants. We met a few straggling caravans and some husbandmen preparing the ground for seed: in general, cultivation appeared to be attended to, but the traces of former and greater population and industry were easily discover-



discoverable. An incredible number of dry wells, substantially built with stone and mortar, with the ruins of stately houses and villages, recalled to mind the former affluent state of the kingdom of Persia. The vines spread their luxuriant branches all around them, and seemed to forebode that those plains would again become the seat of plenty. We saw no hares, but had excellent sport with a fox, which the greyhounds pursued, and after a chase of a quarter of an hour killed : this animal was much smaller in size than the foxes are in Europe, being very little bigger than a large hare. The fur was tolerably fine, and the brush I brought away in triumph. As the sun was now high, we returned to Bushire to breakfast a good deal fatigued with our long ride. The living at Bushire was by no means to be compared to that we experienced during our residence at Bussora. We were supplied with fish neither remarkable for their size nor flavour ; these, with some tolerable mutton and small fowls, were the only things procurable at this place. What struck me as very extraordinary, vegetables were by no means abundant ; but the wine of Schiras made ample amends : it is  
rich,

rich, full, and generous, and when old may be compared to the best productions of any country or climate. The new wine has a disagreeable roughness, which age wears off. It is to be had both white and red, but the first is esteemed the most. We obtained some delicious tobacco, which is undoubtedly not only the most beautiful and delicate, but also the mildest I ever tasted. Its colour is a light yellow approaching to brown, and as transparent as amber. The Persians are notoriously given to smoking tobacco, and there are no people who have such variety, or who go to so much expence in their smoking machines. They have beside the hooka and the long pipe, the calne, the nargil, and the kerim caun. Rose water and ambergrise are made use of with other spices and perfumes, so as to render the vulgar habit of smoking tobacco an elegant and expensive luxury. The weed itself, after having been washed two or three times in rose water, mixed with the finest sugar-candy, is softened by the addition of rose buds and ripe plantains. If it is buried in fresh earth for five or six weeks, it adds to its mildness and salubrity. The bottom  
part

part of the machine is nearly filled with cool water, and the long winding tube through which the smoke ascends is frequently refreshed with ambergris and perfumes. The tobacco is often replenished, and attention to the different duties gives sufficient employment to two servants, who are kept for no other purpose. I have known in India, the establishment of a hooka *commé il faut* amount to the monthly sum of sixty rupees, a sum little less than eight pounds sterling, and with prudent management amply sufficient to rear a family in Europe decently and comfortably. Before leaving Bushire we were shown a manufacture in imitation of shawls, remarkably fine and pretty, and, excepting in regard to their hardness, much superior to the real ones. They were of different colours, and variegated after the same fashion with the manufacture of Cashmere; the price being moderate, we purchased a few, and in India they were much admired. Having fully satisfied our curiosity in the course of the three days' residence at Bushire, we were well pleased to return on board, and set sail for the ultimate place of our destination.

February

February 5th. We weighed anchor, attended by our consort the Turk, who accompanied us for two days, when we dismissed him, having no further occasion for his services. The Gulf of Persia is much infested with pirates, and it is therefore better to keep in the middle of the stream. There are numberless Arab Sheicks on both sides of the Persian Gulf, who have all fleets for the purposes of piracy and plunder \*. The kingdom of Persia has, in particular,

\* The Chaub ranks next to the Turks, or rather to the Pacha of Bagdad, in point of maritime strength. His capital is Durac, supposed to be the Susa of Alexander. The district which he possesses extends a considerable way on the eastern banks of the Shat-el-Arab, and his fleet consists of a few stout vessels, well manned and armed. The Sheick of Julfar, whose country lies to the westward of Cape Musseldom, on the Arabian side, has also a naval force. His fleet are mostly Does, which are ill-constructed vessels, with matted sides, and lofty sterns, built of timber, as their bottoms and prows are. The smallest mount four guns, but the largest carry eighteen, and they are filled with men. The Persians have never been famous for naval exertion; but the most part of the lesser Sheicks, such as the Sheick of Bandareck, &c. equip according to their capacity and power, small cruizers, which frequently obstruct trading vessels. Not many years ago the Antelope, belonging to  
Bombay,

particular, from local circumstances, encouraged this system of depredation. Since the death of Nadir Shaw it has been in a continued state of anarchy and disorder. One usurpation has incessantly protruded another, and which has always terminated in the massacre of the deposed monarch. Revolt has been equally rapid, and whole countries have been depopulated: travelling is every where unsafe, and there can be no faith between man and man: in short, the whole of Persia is become only fit for the habitation of the tiger and panther; animals not more the enemy of man than the human race are often to themselves. Persia is, no doubt, capable of being made a terrestrial paradise, for without a doubt nature has not produced the paragon of this fine country. It abounds with the finest and best articles of the most necessary, and also of the most luxurious demand. The fruits of all kinds,

Bombay, was taken by the Sheick of Julfar. This circumstance is mentioned by Col. Capper in his Memorial, addressed to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company in the year 1784, as also his apprehensions of the pirates in the Gulf of Persia. These facts point out the necessity of there always being at least one English vessel of force in those seas.



grapes, mulberries, oranges, peaches, and nectarines, pistachio nuts and dates, are exquisite. The country produces grain of every description, and cotton and silk in profusion; from these materials, clothes of cotton and silks are made, and fine carpets from their wool. They possess good horses, and large droves and flocks of cattle, sheep, and goats: gold, silver, pearls, and what is more useful, iron, are also found: their wine is much boasted of, and their trees drop manna. Where can we find so many excellencies combined, or where shall we discover so cruel a perversion of every thing gratifying and indulgent?

The Gulf of Persia has, for ages back, from the imperious and overbearing temper of man, been the scene of contention and bloodshed: the Portuguese, very soon after the discovery of the passage to India, found their way to this great channel of commerce and enterprise. In the year 1507, they were established in the island of Ormus, and which became a place of considerable trade, till it was taken by the Persians, but assisted by us, in the year 1662. The Portuguese, driven from hence, took Muscat, where they built a castle  
about

about the year 1650, but they were expelled by the Arabs, who put them all to the sword, excepting eighteen, who became converts to Mahomedanism: other nations have followed their example, and it has also been the grave of many of our countrymen, but all their exertions have not been able to acquire stability.

The Dutch had a settlement on the island of Karac \*, about the year 1750; but their bad conduct exasperated the Sheick of Banderick, who took possession of the island, and drove out the Dutch. Our subsequent wars in that quarter, and the mismanagement attending them, would only exhibit folly, ignorance, and imprudence; and it is therefore prudent to draw a veil over the deplorable picture.

\* The island of Karac is situated within thirty leagues of the Shat-el-Arab, and half way between the coasts of Arabia and Persia. Here ships proceeding to Bussora generally call for a pilot; it is five miles in length, and between two and three in breadth. This island is extremely well calculated to become a settlement for an European power, and might be brought to command the whole trade of the surrounding shores.

Before we got out of the Gulf of Persia we experienced a heavy gale of wind, which lasted nearly twenty-four hours, and proved a severe trial to our steering machine, and we were not without alarm lest any part of it should give way; the wind was contrary with sudden squalls, and we were in a narrow part of the Gulf amongst the islands, between Cape Jacques on the Persian, and Cape Musseldon on the Arabian shore, which forms the entrance of the Gulf of Persia. Here are several small islands and rocks called the Tombs, and others called the Coins, which makes this part of the Gulf extremely dangerous; the ship was obliged to be tacked every half hour, which occasioned a considerable strain on the machine; it, however, stood the trial, without any material accident having happened.

Feb 14th. Having passed the island of Ormus, we soon launched into the Arabian Sea, and we stood to the Eastward until the evening of the 22d. Captain Jervis had at this time by his reckoning, nearly made the island of Bombay: about ten o'clock at night we were

Were alarmed by a noise on the quarter deck, for every thing had been hitherto quiet, the sea was smooth, and the moon shone very bright. On going on deck, we had the pleasing sight of the back of Malabar Hill, on the island of Bombay, close under our bow; the ship had run within a very short distance of the land, before the officer discovered her situation, and every other person had been equally inattentive: had not the weather been moderate, the vessel would most likely have been on shore; with a little exertion we got the vessel off the land, and stood for the entrance of the harbour; the light-house was soon discovered, and in the morning we saw the town and the ships at anchor. The signal was thrown out at day-break, for her being a packet from Bussora, but as the wind was light we did not reach the anchoring ground till near one, when I went on shore and delivered the packets of letters entrusted to my care into the hands of General Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay. Mrs. Taylor, and Mr. Blackader, landed soon after, when we were received under the hospitable roof of our friend Mr. Rivett, whose urbanity has been equally distinguished and

admired. On my arrival at this presidency, I found that hostilities had commenced with the Sultan of Myfore: this war, which, however just in itself, might have led to consequences destructive to the interests of a great commercial nation like our own; became of the first importance to the relative and political connections, which subsist between Great Britain and her Eastern possessions.

It will be allowed, that a country retained in subjection by the power of the sword, is a novelty in the history of our country. The propriety of the means, by which the remote dependency has been acquired, and is still maintained, has been disputed on the ground of both morality and political wisdom; but on this subject I shall only observe, that we have passed the Rubicon, and that there is not any room for a safe retreat. The fortunes, the lives of thousands depend on the preservation and prosperity of our settlements in the East: India is a prop to England, labouring under the pressure of accumulated taxes, and to the eye of political wisdom presents a field of new and growing resource. The general interests and finances of Britain, now, indeed, so intimately blended



ed with our possessions in India, are annually brought forward by administration, as affording on the subject of ways and means an additional fund of credit to that parliamentary security, which, by reason of the free constitution, and inviolate good faith of the British government, has stamped a value on the British funds, unknown in any other state or country upon earth.

To render our Indian possessions of permanent utility to Britain, will be the steady purpose of every wise administration. This, however, will be a difficult, as well as it is an important task : to unite equity and moderation, with that vigour and promptitude which are necessary for the administration of countries, at a vast distance from the seat of government ; to distribute the patronage which attends that administration, in such a manner as to preserve entire the free spirit of the British constitution ; to join together the great advantages to be derived from an immense monopoly, and those which accompany and flow from free trade ; to reconcile the just expectations of the East-India Company, with those of the manufactures and individual traders of Great Britain ; and,

on the whole, to arrange in one harmonious system the wealth of India: concord among all the subjects of Great Britain, and the purity of the British constitution, is a great but an arduous work. I am fully persuaded that the possession of India may be still made more and more conducive to the promotion, not only of the general commerce and public revenue of Britain, but even, of the interests of the East-India Company; in as much, as if from existing circumstances they have been partially circumscribed, they may tend also to a prolongation of their existence. In contemplating the connection that has grown up between Great Britain and the East Indies, and which it is our object to confirm and perpetuate, the first idea that occurs is, the relative situation of those countries to each other in respect of place: this circumstance of local situation seems, at first sight, to throw an air of ridicule on every attempt to form a perpetual band between countries separated from each other by an interval of ten thousand miles. It must be owned that this immense distance is not without many political inconveniences; yet, it may perhaps be affirmed, that it is less difficult to establish

establish a permanent connection between a parent state and colonies, when they are at too great a distance, than when they are too near to each other. Spain lost Portugal, and kept Peru. I shall not stop here to display the reasons that incline me to entertain this paradox, any farther than just to observe in general, that they are founded on that rivalry and fermentation of spirit, which equal pretensions and quick intelligence, breed and nourish between contiguous states and kingdoms. The East Indies are more remote than we could wish: however, a moderate and mild government, that respects ancient privileges, manners, customs, and opinions, will conciliate the affections and secure the tranquillity of the pacific Hindoos. Though the island of Great Britain be not so favourably situated for intercourse with India, whether commercial or political, as some other kingdoms of Europe, she nevertheless enjoys many singular advantages, in numerous harbours and docks for shipping, the national spirit and enterprize of the people, and their turn for sea-faring life. With these advantages, Britain bids as fair to retain her foreign settlements, as

any other nation whatsoever, provided that she adopt such arrangements and institutions as sound policy dictates : and as encouragement for the British legislature, to form and adopt such arrangements and institutions, it is to be observed, that the wealth of India does not consist, like that of Mexico and Peru, in gold and silver, which, as is universally known, impoverished and depopulated Spain, but in articles of more intrinsic and permanent value ; articles, which require and nourish labour and promote industry, the true source of population and national wealth and greatness. It is to our terrestrial possessions in India that we are to look for the surest and indeed the only means of reducing and extinguishing the national debt of this country : by retrenching the public expences, on a system of prudent economy ; by opening new avenues of commerce, and new subjects of mechanical labour and ingenuity, the British government may accomplish that grand object, confer the most solid and lasting benefits on their country, and render their name immortal.

These observations very naturally occurred  
to



to my mind, when I considered the situation in which Indians was now likely to be placed; and my attention was called to the more immediate point on which its destiny at this moment depended. The combined strength of our settlements in that quarter was about to be exerted against a powerful enemy, and the ultimate existence of our possessions rested on the result. This war was likely not only to involve the prosperity of the state, but the lives of numberless individuals, the interests of commerce, and the honour and respectability of the British name and influence in India.

When we reflect that two of the most respectable native powers had afforded us their support, and that our arms were led by the distinguished character, who controlled the governments of the East; when we know that the eyes of all the world were upon us in the prosecution of a just, necessary, and creditable war; when we consider that our resources would be exerted to the utmost stretch in men and money; and when it was public all over India, that every effort would be put in agitation; that all our resources

were



were called into action to humble a restless tyrant, it surely became the most anxious wish of every Briton to see the contest finished with honor to the nation, and credit to our arms.

The Mharattas and the Nizam regarded the English as the medium by which they were engaged as allies to overthrow the empire of an usurper; a dominion founded on blood, and protected by every measure of cruelty and oppression. Should our arms have proved unsuccessful, our power, influence, and respectability in the East would have been irrecoverably lost. Not only the Mahrattas and Nizam, but every state in India, from the mountains of Thibet to the southern peninsula would have been roused, and the disaffection of our native troops would finally dismember the colonies of India from the British empire.

The indignation and resentment of an oppressed people was every where evident; the lower Malabar had revolted, and it was only the Mahomedan subjects of the Sultaun that appeared to enjoy his protection or support. The upper country was not in a better situation:

tion: and it is a known fact, that within the walls of his capital there existed a powerful party ready to avow themselves, when it could be done with certainty and safety.

The cruelties exercised on his unhappy subjects riveted the principles of disgust and detestation. Assuming the character of his prophet, he wantonly, and in cold blood, destroys the natural possession of the country, who refuse to reject the religion of their ancestors to assume that of Mahomed; and I declare that I have myself witnessed a sight of barbarity unknown in any civilised nation, where the unfortunate Hindoos have been hanged by dozens on trees by the roadside, or suspended on hedge rows, as they were caught in the vain attempt of eluding their sanguinary pursuers\*; a scene not only  
to

\* The feelings of humanity recoil, and human nature shudders at the recital of the cruelties exercised on the people of Malabar by Tippoo, or the engines of his power. Should it ever happen (which God forbid that) those miserable wretches should be deserted by us, what horror must await them, what will not be inflicted as the punishment of their revolt? Their implacable foes, the Moplas, will be let loose to annihilate them from the face of the earth; their property will be seized; and the  
indige-

to be equalled by the ferocious Buccaneers in the act of hunting the timid Indians with blood hounds and mastiffs.

These horrible cruelties serve to keep in awe his subjects of a lower class, but policy induces him to attach the principal officers, military and civil, and where his interest is concerned, no man is more liberal of either reward or promotion. Under the eye of Tippoo his army fight with courage and alacrity ; but his detachments have uniformly given way with little opposition, and still less conduct.

His troops are hired by the month, but his month is arbitrary. Thirty, forty, and even fifty days, constitute their duration, and the

indigenous inhabitant be exterminated to give place to their inveterate enemies. If sensibility is at all connected with the policy of states, those in whose hands authority and power is entrusted, should reflect on this circumstance. Let us maturely weigh the tenor of Tippoo's conduct, and then say whether his dominion should not be crushed, for the quiet of India, and the safety of the British possessions, for so long as he enjoys unshackled power, our settlement in the Carnatic and Malabar, will be held on terms the most precarious and uncertain, and that their loss would be followed up by our total expulsion from India.

state of his treasury, or his own whim, regulates the calendar.

His numerous bodies of cavalry have been wonderfully exaggerated: His circar, or stable horse, are the first in point of discipline and bravery; the men are well paid, and uniformly clothed: and the horses, to the number of 5 or 6000, are the property of government. The next in degree of estimation are cavalry, collected from all parts of India, where the horse is the property of the rider, and perhaps constitutes his fortune; for horses killed in action, no compensation is allowed, and the horseman is obliged to serve on foot till he can save or plunder money enough to resume his former situation. When this loss at once deprives the soldier of the prospect of promotion, and the means of his livelihood, he can have little inducement to risk the loss of a favourite animal.

The third class are the Looties, or plunderers. These dastardly marauders serve without pay, and entirely subsist on the plunder of the enemy's country. They burn and destroy whatever they cannot carry off,  
and



and mark their steps with blood and desolation. Their horses are diminutive, and unfit for the purposes of war. The men are clothed with little more than a turband, and a cloth tied about their middle, perhaps without a saddle, and their arms consist of a scymeter or pike. It is to these wretches, during the war with Hyder, that the Carnatic owed its destruction. Under their hands the finest countries in India became little better than a desert: whole villages were swept away; and our manufacturers, with their families, carried to Mysore, while the labourers became the Coolies, to transport what was formerly their own: and where defence was attempted, they neither spared age nor sex.

The foot soldiers may be divided into two classes, the regular and the irregulars, besides which he has Golandaurs or artillery, and a small body of Europeans, renegadoes and deserters. A part of the regulars are clothed in uniform, somewhat in the manner of the English sepoy, but by far the greatest number have only uniform turbands and cummerbands, with white jackets and short breeches.

Their



Their arms are French muskets, or the English ones taken in the course of the war of 1780. To discipline and command these battalions, he has a certain number of foreigners, and a considerable proportion of the native officers belonging to our troops, that became prisoners of war, and were forced into the service. They are slovenly, and unsteady in their exercise and duty, and little acquainted with any evolutions. The irregulars are an unmilitary rabble, variously armed, with old muskets, match-locks, pikes, and scymeters. Little dependence can be placed in such a multifarious collection, who principally depend on plunder for their subsistence.

From such an army what is to be apprehended, when opposed to a body of gallant troops, many of whom are veterans in the service, and commanded by British officers of experience and abilities?

To despise an enemy is the greatest fault which an officer can commit: it puts him from his guard, and renders him open to their assault. Let it, therefore, not be supposed that exertion is unnecessary against so respectable an opponent. Some excellencies must

must prevail in Tippoo's army to render it in general respectable, and, since the commencement of the present war, in the opinion of our ablest officers. But the advantages which he possesses are easily counteracted; and when placed in competition with regular system and exact discipline, must at all times be overcome if followed up with discretion and perseverance.

In the mode of carrying his provisions, and of transporting his cannon and stores, an evident superiority is discernable. The attention he has paid to the artillery department evinces a knowledge of its utility, which would not disgrace the tactics of the present day. In carrying provisions for his army, Tippoo's advantages are material; preserving a system of warfare in the midst of profound peace. His bullocks are always trained for either draught or carriage, and his extraordinary demands are supplied from his Banjara bullocks, employed in transporting merchandise through his country, or carrying salt from the sea coast. In these different services there is not less than one hundred thousand employed.

The surprise of his army, or the loss of a  
detachment

detachment, is attended with consequences of no moment to the general interest of the war.

The Bazar of either is generally ten miles in the rear, and encamped on an open road, where their retreat is attended without difficulty or danger. As the army retires or advances, the motions of the Bazar are accordingly regulated. His superiority in cavalry, and the necessity there is for the English troops to preserve a connected body, and the smallness of our numbers, which prevents our detaching, tends to preserve the supplies of the enemy, and to render our means of procuring them more difficult and precarious.

In transporting his cannon and in cutting roads to facilitate their conveyance his means are abundant. To a small gun he attaches one elephant, to a larger two, and to those of a greater caliber three and four. By the assistance of a regular and well-appointed corps of Bildaurs, or Pioneers, 100 pieces of ordnance are moved at a rate not easily to be conceived, and far superior to our best-conducted attempts. His guns are drawn by the best bullocks produced in the country, the elephants being only intended

for occasional assistance; to which is added the unremitted exertions of excellent drivers.

The Nabob's artillery are both larger and longer than ours, which enables him to commence a cannonade either on our baggage or line, before our guns can be used with effect, and when it would only be an unnecessary expence of ammunition to return his fire. In cases of disorder, or when advantage on his side occurs, his cavalry are very ready to seize the opportunity.

The velocity with which his large bodies of cavalry change their situation, and the general rapidity with which his whole movements are executed from one place to another, operate strongly in his favour. Unable to ascertain his position, it is dangerous for us to detach from the main body. His principal object is to attack us in detail, whether in conveying provisions or stores, or foraging in the neighbourhood of our encampment, and in this Huzzar mode of warfare he generally succeeds.

In his artillery he places his greatest confidence and dependance. That corps is the best appointed in his service, and very far superior to those of any native power in India.

His



His intelligence is an object of particular consideration: he spares no expence to accomplish his end, and the most cruel and exemplary punishments are immediately inflicted, should false information at any time be delivered. He does not depend on the word of a single individual, but employs several on the same occasion, examines them apart, and whether they agree or differ in the tale, they are all detained close prisoners till the truth is disclosed, and to the man who is found in an error no lenity is shewn. The families of the spies are in the possession of the Nabob, and he attaches them to him by the most liberal rewards: by this means he finds his way into our camps, and perhaps, by dint of money, and the collusion of the native servants of officers of rank, he obtains the knowledge of our secret resolves. His Bildaurs are the stoutest and best working men in his country, a certain proportion are attached to every gun, and it is astonishing, from the number that compose that corps, with what celerity roads are cut through the thickest jungle or the most rugged country.

His elephants, to the amount of near 400, perform wonders in dragging his cannon



along heavy roads, in crossing rivers, and in carrying his camp equipage and stores.

The Rocket-boys are daring, especially when intoxicated with bang: they advance near to our line of march, covered by the cavalry, and attempt to throw our troops into confusion. The rocket discharged horizontally is more dangerous than those fired perpendicularly, and in open and level ground they are, although uncertain in their direction, very destructive and galling to our men.

Tippoo is defective as an engineer, neither will he be advised by those who are qualified in that line: in several instances I have known him reject the opinion of able officers to follow his own miserable plans. His new forts, of which he is himself the constructor, betray the most shameful ignorance of the very first principles of fortification, and in place of works covering and protecting each other, the direction of his flanking-guns point immediately to the centre of the works themselves.

That Tippoo possesses many evident advantages, and that he is a respectable and formidable enemy is every where allowed; but it cannot be denied, that supported as we

were

were at this time by the Mharattas and the Nizam, and by the finest army that India ever saw: the best disciplined and paid that ever were commanded by English officers, by the finest train of artillery that we ever collected in the East, and, above all, in the conscious approbation of a good cause, there could not be a doubt but his throne would be shaken to the centre.

That our armies in the East had at this time great defects and many difficulties to encounter cannot be controverted, and that they still labour under certain inconveniences cannot be denied\*: but they exist at this moment in a much smaller degree than ever was before known, and whenever a fresh war shall break out, we shall fight with evident advantage and decided superiority.

The causes that proved our destruction in former wars are happily removed: no small detachments opposed to superior numbers, better means provided to supply our armies with provisions and ammunition, intelligence more liberally rewarded, and by carrying our arms into the enemies

\* Appendix, B.

B b 3

country,

country, save our own, and subsist at their expence.

Tippoo Saib, conscious of our superiority in the open field, assiduously avoided the contest, and looked to delay and procrastination as his surest means of defence. To cut off our detachments, or to interrupt our convoys, was his certain aim. Our success must always be sure if we provide against the wants of provisions and ammunition; and on this the success of our arms depended. The policy of the Nabob led him to distress us by every means in his power, even to the destruction of his finest districts, and I foresaw that he would lay waste as we advanced, and till he came to a point from which there would be no receding, when like a stag at bay, he must risk a general action and probably terminate his career of despotism, cruelty, and oppression.

The sufferings of our officers, sepoy, and European troops, whilst prisoners with Hyder, are still in their memory, and however humanity may be interested, in the event of another war, they will not fail to avenge the cause of their slaughtered brethren, and the hardships imposed on themselves and countrymen.

It had been hitherto the misfortune of our government in India to be branded with terms of reproach for levying unjust wars, and for our interference with the native powers. In this instance we must stand acquitted to all the world, and glory in the honourable pursuit of protecting an old and faithful ally, and counteract the ambition of a restless Prince, whose undeviating politics has tended to increase his dominions by encroachments on his neighbours, and finally, to expel every European from the country. His boundless cruelty and tyranny has excited the wrath of his oppressed subjects: in the event of another rupture, they will soon join in the common cause to crush him for ever.

The empire of Tippoo, from the hour his father acquired the government of Mysore, has been a continued series of usurpation. Many murders have been committed to get quit of the lawful competitors. There still remain many of the ancient stock, and these have yet adherents, who anxiously wait a favourable opportunity to declare for their original masters, to whom they are attached by the strongest ties of affection.

Had the British government in India no



better reason for declaring war, and the British government at home no better reason for approving the measure, the conduct of Tippoo Saib towards us since the peace of 1784, would fully have authorized the decided step that was taken, and more than fully vindicated every consequence that resulted to him. His attack on the lines of Travancore was, to the Rajah, wanton, illiberal, and unjust, and in regard to us, insolent and presumptuous: to have endured the insult would have been to acknowledge our weakness and the superiority of the Nabob to all the powers of India: a measure of this kind would have lessened the consequence of the British empire, in the East, given up the balance of power, and placed the faith of our treaties in derision and contempt. What power would have again sought the alliance of a nation unable to vindicate her own rights or to defend those of an ancient ally in the hour of oppression and distress?

It is an undoubted fact, that several European officers that had fallen into the hands of Tippoo in the former, were yet in being on the commencement of the war.

By the treaty of peace of 1784, the English on the coast of Malabar were to be put in full



full possession of the factories held by them in the life-time of Hyder Ally, and from whence the East-India Company annually shipped a considerable quantity of pepper, sandal-wood, and cardamums. With considerable risk an English resident was sent to Calicut, but the free exercise of trade was denied, and he was obliged to quit his house with every mark of degradation. The British flag was insulted, and the recal of the resident terminated the affront. As a plea for this breach of treaty, it was intimated by the Nabob, that to encourage agriculture he had ordered every pepper-vine to be destroyed, and that he had taken into his own hands the exclusive monopoly of the cardamums and sandal-wood, to supply by the medium of the Red Sea\*, the Turkish empire.

The privilege of the East-India Company to enjoy factories in the Canara and Sunda country, was prior to the possession of these districts by Tippoo's father, and they are better entitled by the rule of right, to that trade than he is to the sovereignty of that dominion which he now commands with such unexampled severity. In the year 1725,

\* Appendix, C.

the Rajah of these Provinces allowed to the Company a free intercourse and commerce with his subjects. He sought their friendship, and requested the Chief and Council of Onore to acquaint the Government of Bombay, they had his permission to establish a settlement in his districts and granted them Compta where they might erect a fort. Onore Compta and Merjie were surveyed by their engineer, and Onore was pitched on for a permanent factory, as most beneficial to the mercantile interests of their employers, and the productions of the whole country were drawn together from Carwar to the limits of the Rajah's jurisdiction.

The insults of Tippoo to the English nation have been most arrogant and daring. The settlement of Tellichery, an ancient mercantile possession of the Company, on the coast of Malabar, was surrounded by an army in the midst of profound peace: he attempted in person to over-awe it, and erected a chain of forts to encompass it on every side: he not only prevented the possibility of trade, but endeavoured to deprive the inhabitants of the common necessities of life: by his insulting messages and threats of an attack, he

he harassed the garrison who lay upon their arms day and night, and at all times in expectation of an assault, till failing in his purpose of getting possession of the fort, he quitted its neighbourhood to indulge his vengeance and disappointment on the Rajah of Travancore.

Not contented with the insult which he had offered to our government in India, he instigated the country powers to follow his example. The Bibie of Cannanore, who had, during the former war, experienced the effects of her temerity, was induced by him again to become troublesome. Our trade was interrupted, and she even went so far as to seize a boat under English colours going into the road of Tellicherry.

The Rajah of Cheral was obliged to sanction a claim made by Tippoo for the possession of a bastion of the Fort of Tellicherry, as belonging to him, on the alledged ground of a stipulation, when the settlement was first established by the Company. Other claims, on the score of unsettled accounts were fabricated in his name, and the insolence of his correspondence with the Chief of Tellicherry, had scarcely a parallel. The  
audacity

audacity of the agent, who was sent by the Nabob to transact this extraordinary business, was carried to a singular pitch; he declared in the government house, that unless his terms were complied with, his master's cavalry would ride down the lines of Tellicherry. To this unjustifiable and presumptuous language, the Chief replied with becoming moderation, dignity, and firmness: thus the war commenced without provocation on the part of the British government.

The little success of the Nabob in the first assault of the lines of Paroor, retained credit on the troops of the Rajah. Exasperated and ashamed, he opened a tremendous battery, and in a general attack carried them with little opposition.

The exertions of the British government, though not immediate, were now stimulated: a respectable army was convened on the plains of Trichinopoly; they were put in motion in high spirits and discipline. In the mean time, the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay were not idle. Lord Cornwallis had equipped a brigade of six battalions for the coast; and General Abercromby detached Lieut. Colonel

Hartley

Hartley in April, with 1600 men from Bombay, to reinforce two Carnatic battalions, sent to the assistance of the Rajah of Travancore, and to act on the defensive. Captain Little, with two battalions of sepoys and some artillerymen, left Bombay to join the Mharattas, and who were to be paid by them agreeably to the partition treaty concluded by the allied powers: the same measure was adopted by the Nizam, who applied to Fort St. George, for a like detachment under the command of Major Montgomery.

The grand army, with General Meddows at their head, entered the enemies country by the way of Caroor, early in the month of June. The country powers, with the knowledge of Tippoo's enterprising spirit, acted with caution, in order to counterbalance the advantages that a well-disciplined army has in all respects over another inferior to it.

It was at first conceived, that Tippoo might have been easily brought to a general action, and so to have terminated the war by a single coup. But the efforts of many months of a gallant and zealous army, ably commanded and judiciously appointed, proved ineffectual.



ineffectual. Accustomed to acknowledge the superiority of the English, Tippoo adopted a system of warfare better calculated to support his power; by procrastination and delay, to lengthen the war beyond the period of our resources; by long marches, to harass and fatigue our troops, whilst the provisions and stores of the army were daily exhausting, and necessitate General Meddows either to detach from his main body, or fall back to Trichinopoly or Caroor, for a fresh supply.

The schemes of the Nabob were easily discovered, his views were every where disappointed, and all his schemes proved abortive: Tippoo particularly felt his own weakness, in an attempt to cut off a detachment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Floyd. His best horse, supported by fifteen pieces of cannon, were in different attacks, effectually beaten off; never did the bravery, the discipline, or coolness of British troops, shew itself more conspicuously than on this occasion.

Lord Cornwallis, to give vigour to the exertions of our allies, and to convince the native powers of his determined resolution,  
of

of prosecuting the war, took the field in person, accompanied or shortly followed by 1200 volunteers, from the sepoy battalions, a complete regiment of cavalry, a large proportion of draught and carriage bullocks, to which the Nabob of Oude added a most valuable gift of sixty-seven elephants, trained to military purposes. These preparations announced to all India the consequence of the war, and the power of Tip-poo as an enemy, the apprehensions entertained of him, and the necessity there was of reducing his power to its just standard. The treasury of Bengal was drained, and every means adopted that could give effect to an undertaking, in which our interest in India was so nearly connected.

Having briefly narrated the situation in which I found public affairs in India, I shall continue my observations on the war, during my residence in that quarter, and with General Abercromby's army; and add such occasional remarks as occurred to me during its progress, as well relative to it, as likewise to certain points of local knowledge and information, acquired by a residence of considerable duration in that country.

Major

Major Dow, early in the year 1790, had marched from Tellicherry, and opened a communication with the surrounding country, which, previously to that time, was cut off by a considerable body of the enemy. General Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, and Commander in Chief of the forces on the Coast of Malabar, left the Presidency in the month of November following, with a considerable reinforcement, and landed at Tellicherry on the 8th of that month. The General established his head quarters in the vicinity of Tellicherry, near to the spot which shortly before had been occupied by the tents of Tippoo. No sooner were the English colours hostilely displayed, but the princes of the country, many of whom had been unjustly deprived of their territory, flocked to the standard. The whole of Malabar was instantly in arms to support the British forces, and the Moplas, who are rigid Mahomedans, and the zealous friends of Tippoo, were lost in irresolution and amazement: the Bibie of Cannonore had repeatedly promised to give up her fort, but was prevented by a body of 6000 of the Nabob's troops, who were encamped near to the walls  
of

of her town. It was necessary for General Abercromby to attack and disperse these people, and for that purpose put in motion his little army, not exceeding 4000 men. The enemy were speedily compelled to lay down their arms; terms were granted to the Bibie, and the English flag was hoisted on the Fort of Cannanore.

General Abercromby, by conciliatory measures, in a great degree, united the jarring interests of the Hindoos and Moors, whilst he kept alive the spirit of liberty that had stimulated the oppressive natives, and by forming alliances with the most considerable Rajahs, he added both to his military strength, and to his means of prosecuting the war: Amongst those, independently of the Rajah of Travancore, whose minister had joined our army with a body of three hundred horse, and three battallions of regular Sepoys, were the Rajahs of Cartinad, Cat-tiote, Cherical, and Comlah. Those chiefs were accompanied by many of the Nam-biers or hereditary lords, who armed their subjects in the common cause; others were daily coming in from their fastnesses in the mountains, whither the tyranny of Tippoo had for several years obliged them to retire.

But the most distinguished in zeal and affection, was the Rajah of the Corga\*, who continued with us during the war a faithful and useful ally.

Lieutenant Colonel Hartley had been detached to the Southern part of the Malabar province, with a small force, where he obtained a gallant victory over the Nabob's troops, commanded by Murtaub Cawn. This victory dispersed the enemy's force in the Lower Malabar, and opened a communication between Paulgautcherry, which had been taken by surprise a short time before, and the sea coast: and the Company's forces were at this time in possession of the country below the Ghaut, from the river of Balia-patam to the lines of Travancore.

The Mharattas, previously to the departure of General Abercromby from Bombay, had laid siege to the Fort of Darwar, a strong frontier town of Tippoo's, towards the Mharatta States. To their assistance a detachment of Company's troops had been sent from that presidency, and the Admiral of the Mharatta fleet had scoured the coast of Malabar as low as Mangalore: he had occasion-

\* Appendix D.



ally disembarked a body of men who had plundered the country, and deprived Tippoo of any resources from the provinces adjoining to the sea. The collectors and chief men of the towns and villages immediately on the coast, sold off, previously to the arrival of the Mharattas, at little more than half price, all the property of the Nabob. Foreigners participated largely in this commerce, and under their respective flags, avowedly became purchasers of every article they could procure, to the evident prejudice of the Company's trade.

Our ally, the Nizam, was busily employed in the siege of Copaul, a northern frontier of Tippoo's, on the side of the Nizam's dominions, assisted by a detachment of our troops from fort St. George. The Nizam's forces had engaged several bodies of Tippoo's troops, in one of which 500 of the enemy were killed, with 200 of their horses.

The grand army, during these operations, encamped in the neighbourhood of Madras, having left garrisons in the forts of Coimbatore, Dindigul, and Palagautcherry, and a respectable force near to Trichinopoly. Lord Cornwallis took the command

in person in the month of February, and by a skilful manœuvre entered without opposition the passes of Tippoo's country to the northward, with a force nearly 25,000 men. This was effected, notwithstanding that the Nabob had been watching his Lordship's motions for a considerable time with a determination of defending whatever pass the Grand Army attempted to ascend, trusting to the celerity of his motions to have gained the top before his Lordship could have got through his heavy artillery, provisions, and stores.

The Grand Army was in full force at Mulwaggle on the 25th of February, and had been joined by the 67 elephants before taken notice of. They were in high spirits, supplied with abundance of provisions, and provided with a battering train, and the necessary stores for the siege of Bangalore. On the 27th his Lordship moved from Mulwaggle to Nellepettah, and from thence on the 28th to Colar, the burying place of both Hyder Ally and his father. On the 1st of March the army encamped at Narsepore, and on the 2d at Ooscottah, on the 3d they halted: on the 4th the army resumed their march, and Tippo was discovered for the first

first time in full force, about five miles on his Lordship's left flank, and half way between Ooscottah and Bangalore. The 5th in the morning Tippoo was again seen on the same ground, when the following disposition of the army was ordered. The right wing, and the 9th brigade was ordered to file off towards Bangalore, in charge of the baggage, stores, and provisions of the army. The cavalry, the left wing, and the 4th brigade, were to follow, and give battle to the enemy. No sooner did his Lordship put the troops in motion, than Tippoo struck his tents, and commenced his march in a parallel direction, but rather approaching to our line. At twelve o'clock the left wing was up with the rear of the right, and about the same time Tippoo opened his guns at a great distance, and continued a desultory cannonade till past two. Several dispositions were made by his Lordship to bring on a general action, but without effect. On the evening of the same day the Grand Army encamped within a mile and a half of the fort of Bangalore, and the advanced guard within three quarters of a mile of the pettah or suburbs. Next morn-

ing, or the 6th, the guns of the fort were opened on our reconnoitering parties, and Tippoo moved with his army towards our left flank, and again commenced a cannonade. At noon Lord Cornwallis changed his ground to the right, when Tippoo moved off to the opposite side of the fort, where he fixed his encampment.

Bangalore is a place of the second consideration in Tippoo's dominions. It is regularly fortified, furrounded by a deep dry ditch, and was garrisoned by 7000 men; but from the extent of the works it was, and always will be, in the power of the Nabob to reinforce the garrison as he may judge necessary for its defence. Granaries for his provisions, and an arsenal for guns and military stores, are maintained in this place, and also a considerable treasury is known to be generally there for the payment of his troops.

The reduction of Bangalore enabled Lord Cornwallis to direct his march toward Seringapatam and the Poodicherrum Pass, within fifty-two miles of it, where General Abercromby was strongly posted, with an army which

which had been reinforced to the number of 7500 men, with an adequate train of field artillery.

The Poodicherrum Pass is situated in the country of the Corga Ragah, nearly equidistant from Tellicherry and Seringapatam, and forty miles from Cannanore. The road from thence, and particularly the ascent to the Pass, was made by the troops with immense labour and fatigue. By this avenue General Abercromby had conveyed to Poodicherrum his guns, a large quantity of provisions, and a complete train of battering cannon, and stores for the siege of Seringapatam. A complete supply of every necessary and requisite article was by this means ready for his Lordship in its vicinity. His march from Bangalore would be easy and expeditious, and in all probability, in time, to commence the siege of that place before the setting in of the S. W. monsoon, and when reduced would afford ample magazines of provisions, and excellent cantonments for the army in the rains, should it not be productive of still greater advantages, a mortal stab to the power



of the tyrant, and the overthrow of his empire.

In the mean time General Abercromby was securely posted, with a strong country in his front, where cavalry could not act, and his rear was guarded by numberless rivers and intersections of the sea, which at all times prevented Tippoo from cutting off his communications with the coast. Cavalry could never venture in the rear of so respectable a force : their own retreat would be inevitably lost from the impossibility of fording the rivers. The same reason would prevent guns being transported to the lower country, where the exertions of his infantry, unsupported by either, would be of little avail.

To explain the situation of our armies in India at this time, when there was no less than 40,000 regular troops employed in the field, in the prosecution of the war, besides our garrisons and those left for the protection of our empire, the map of India will be a useful guide. From a single glance it will be perceived that the Nabob Tippoo Sultan was completely surrounded; to the eastward by the Grand Army, to the northward

ward by the Nizam, to the north-west by the Mharattas, to the westward by General Abercromby's army. His southern provinces were by this time reduced, and the principal forts were garrisoned by British troops. In this situation, where three powerful military states were united in a common cause, and where their exertions were drawing to a focus, by the circle becoming daily more contracted, it might naturally be supposed that the duration of the war could not be long: on the other hand, it must be considered that Tippoo in person commanded an army of 70,000 men, amply provided with every requisite, and supplied with 100 pieces of cannon, with a flowing treasury, and that procrastinating the war would ultimately obtain his object: on this account the propriety of energetic and speedy measures, became on our part absolutely necessary to prevent an implacable enemy, whom neither treaties can bind or alliances secure, from escaping from our hands, like a tiger from beneath the toils.

The British government in India, for our exertions in support of an old ally were every where applauded, and we were called upon

upon to restore the former state of the country. If justice was ever exerted in any cause with honour to ourselves, it was at this moment, in opposing the encroachments of a lawless freebooter, in supporting the natural rights of India, and in the attempt to curb tyranny and despotism in the hands of an usurper. The honour, the good faith, and the credit of the British name was now most solemnly pledged, and with those we had staked the existence of our power in the east. It is easy to make war, but it is a difficult task to make peace on the solid basis of reciprocal and relative justice; and in this instance, on what terms it could be restored with safety to ourselves, and with satisfaction to those with whom we were now co-operating, was a matter arduous in the extreme.

Many things were to be considered in the discussion of this important question.

1st. Establishing a peace with honour to ourselves, safety to our interest, and satisfaction to the native powers of India.

2dly. Subjecting Tippoo to pay the expences of the war, to declare the independency of the Malabar powers, and the Rajah  
of

of Corga, and satisfying the Nizam and Mahrattas, for the encroachments made by his father and himself on their respective countries, with compensation to the King of Travancore for demolishing his lines and destroying the fort of Cranganore.

3dly. Making peace on the Status quo ante bellum.

4thly. Making peace on any terms short of the sacrifice of our mere existence.

In the first instance, the entire suppression of the Nabob's power must have attended the termination of the war: in this event, tranquillity would be restored to India, a lasting peace would be insured on principles of justice to the native powers, and of credit and respect to the British name. This would include the equal participation of our allies, and the lawful sovereigns of the usurped empire or their representatives.

In the second, The nation would be little benefited, except by the trade with the Malabar Princes, which ought to be secured to us by treaties of commerce and alliance: and to shackle Tippoo, it should be stipulated, that a principal pass, leading from the western side into his country, should be put

put in the possession of the English, as the best, and indeed, the only means of restraining his ambitious views, and this peace should be guaranteed by all the principal native powers of India.

In the third, The superiority of Tippoo would be acknowledged, our weakness exposed, and we should for ever be deprived of the alliance of any of the considerable powers. The balance would be wrested from our hands, and we should become the detestation of the Hindoos, our faith be treated with scorn, and means afforded to the Nabob of employing, at a future day, the very combination that we have now raised against him, and which must end in the overthrow of our empire in the East.

The fourth expedient was still more dreadful, and would have subjected us to the most mortifying humiliation that can possibly be experienced: it would have been the last miserable subterfuge of a falling state, which may totter on its foundation for a few years before it sinks into utter ruin.

How peace has been effected for the security of India, and particularly of the British Empire in that quarter, is not for me to determine,



mine, farther than just to observe, that the wisdom and policy of Lord Cornwallis can leave no room to doubt, that the best was done for the benefit and advantage of all parties; and that under the existing circumstances his measures were prudent, necessary, and just.

When we consider the coast of Malabar in a military point of view, should the power of Tippoo Sultan again become inimical to us, it will be found extremely eligible for military stations, and the nearest to the vitals of his empire, Seringapatam, and the country of Mysore.

The prosecution of the late war has afforded us some excellent information on several subjects, particularly the navigation of the rivers, the roads, the countries towards the Ghauts, and the principal passes into the Mysore. Many important points have been ascertained, of which we were formerly unacquainted, and a new military map by Lieutenant-colonel Reynolds, will be the result of the labours that gentleman has been unremittingly engaged in for these twenty years past, over the greatest part of India.

The march of General Abercromby has  
considerable

considerable merit in explaining the country from the sea-coast almost in a direct line with Seringapatam: previously to this period, the inhabitants of Tellicherry, though not more than ninety miles direct distance, were unacquainted with the state of either the country or the roads, so little communication had they with the interior parts.

The intercourse of the Croga Rajah with the government of Tellicherry, first awakened our attention to the route by the Billiapatam river. This river falls into the sea eighteen miles to the northward of Tellicherry, and is navigable for large boats, twenty-five miles from its mouth to Illiacour, though in a direct line, it is not more than sixteen. Captain Byron of his Majesty's ship Phoenix, and Sir Richard Strachan of the Vestal, rowed up in their barges to Illiacour: and boats, the size of common lighters, find water for about eighteen miles, completely loaded. From this place, where every thing must be disembarked, as in the case of General Abercromby's march, to Viatore is twelve miles, from thence to the foot of the Poodicherrum Ghaut is six, and the ascent near

near to the spot where the General had taken up his ground waiting the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, about four more. From this to the foot of Periapatam is twenty-two miles, and thirty miles further stands Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions. The fort of Belliapatam is situated on an eminence on the south bank of the river, about three miles from its mouth. By land the distance from this place to Seringapatam is little more than eighty-seven miles, although the windings of the river will make it somewhat more.

From Tellicherry, the distance to Seringapatam is one hundred and two miles by the following route, without the advantage of any water conveyance:

	Miles.
Tellicherry to the Village of Keure, . . . . .	20
From Keure to Illiacour, . . . . .	8
Illiacour to Viatore, . . . . .	12
Viatore to the bottom of the Poodicher- rum Ghaut, . . . . .	6
To the top, or General Abercromby's Encampment, . . . . .	4
To Periapatam, . . . . .	22
To Seringapatam, . . . . .	30
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The want of good harbours on the coast of Malabar, is a great defect ; all the considerable rivers are incommoded with bars, and large ships in the open roads lay at a considerable distance from the shore. The port of Tellicherry is in this situation, and labours under many inconveniencies.

The harbour of Cannanore, fourteen miles to the northward of Tellicherry, and only four miles and a half to the southward of Belliapatam, possesses some advantages, and indeed is the only harbour that I have seen on the coast of Malabar. The fort was built by the Dutch on a peninsula projecting into the sea, and which forms one side of the bay. Towards the land it is fortified by a wall, flanked by two bastions, with an excellent fausse braye, and a tolerable ditch, cut in the neck of land from the sea to the harbour. This ditch would admit the water, if the side next to the sea was not choaked up, but it could be easily cleared away, and constructed either to retain the water, or allow it a free passage with the ebbing and flowing of the tide. To render the fort respectable and next to Bombay,

one

one of the best and strongest on the western side of India, a few out-works would be necessary to extend the line of defence, in order to counteract the extent of the approaches and to cover the adjacent ground, which in the present situation evidently commands it.

The town of Cannanore is situated at the bottom of a small harbour, in which there is fourteen feet water, under the guns of the fort. A landing place is projected from the gate toward the sea, where at all seasons boats may land. And a few ships in this harbour may ride out the violence of the south-west monsoon, although I will not pretend to say that it will be practicable to sail from thence before the month of September.

The advantages of this situation are evident, and the consequence of it obvious. Billiapatam fort when finished, will effectually command the river, which would prove highly serviceable in conveying stores and provisions as high as Illiacour, within twenty-two miles of the Poodecherrum pass, where an army posted to advantage may defy the exertions of Tippoo's force from the natural strength of the country,



both in the front and rear. Magazines could be established within fifty-two miles of the Nabob's capital, should necessity render hostile measures again necessary. The bar at the entrance of Belliapatam river being impracticable during the south west monsoon, and for some time previous to its setting in. During the blowing of the north westers, the harbour of Cannanore, at the distance of only four miles and a half, at all seasons would admit a safe landing place, from whence a communication could be kept up with the fort of Belliapatam, and the strength of the ground between these places would encamp, and allow to be drawn out in order of battle, a brigade, able to oppose any force that Tippoo would choose to risk in such a country : and that too in a situation to preserve the communication between the two forts, open and complete, with the rear of our army protected by the sea, and at the same time its flanks strongly covered.

The ground that I have now described is admirably calculated for defence: from the ridge of this elevated plain a gentle descent forms the front of a line considerably above  
a mile,

a mile, and the flanks are secured by deep valleys, over which on the rising ground guns could be mounted to great advantage.

To be ready to act at a moment's warning with so many advantages, and to be able at all times to attack the Nabob in his most vulnerable part, must appear to be a point of the greatest magnitude. The preservation of his Malabar dominions is of high importance, from the circumstance of their opening so favourable a road to his upper country, and from having uniformly drawn off his armies from desolating the Carnatic. The detachments sent from Bombay on this service, have been in general badly equipped, without carriage of any kind for either stores or provisions, principally owing to the expence, inconveniency, and delay of embarking bullocks, and the utter impossibility of conveying either camels or elephants. A brigade well appointed would at all times overawe the Nabob, and prove a considerable ground-work to the establishment of a strong offensive army. The troops of the Presidency of Bombay have always been enterprizing and successful. In this and in former wars, Tippoo and his father have ever dreaded the

invasion of their western dominion, and the forts on the sea coast have uniformly come into our possession, by expeditions equipped from Bombay. The present Nabob felt more forcibly than Hyder Ally the consequences of our getting immediate footing in his country, from which there was no dispossessing us, without loss of men and very considerable delay: by these means his attention was taken off from more favourite pursuits, and where he was materially injuring the interest of our nation. Mangalore last war drew the enemy from the Carnatic, and employed Tippoo and his whole army near ten months before it finally capitulated, and was a very considerable inducement in forwarding the peace.

The importance of the Coast of Malabar is very considerable: its produce is various, and which depend on the soil and climate of the different provinces. Sunda and Mangalore yield excellent rice in great abundance, and the southern provinces, cardamums, sandal-wood, cassia, coir, and cocoa-nuts; from the sides of the mountains the finest Teak in India is cut down and dragged by elephants to the banks of the great rivers, to be floated  
down

down to the sea-coast, particularly to Beypore in the neighbourhood of Calicut, where he had built ships of considerable burden.

The Hindoos of the Malabar coast, seem to have attracted his greatest enmity, During the life-time of his father, and since his own reign, not less than four hundred thousand of these miserable people have been carried off by the most inhuman means. It would really appear that he wished to render so fine a country a frightful desert, and to become a barrier against our approaches to his more elevated dominions.

However difficult it may be to reconcile a measure so contrary to his interest, it is a certain fact, that he exceedingly injured the population, and consequently hurt manufactures and the advantages arising from the productions of a well-peopled country, which form the riches of a state. By some it is ascribed to religious zeal for the general conversion of the Hindoos to the Mahomedan religion.

There is one object the Nabob has never lost sight of; an object which he seems to have followed with enthusiastic ardour, that of becoming a maritime power. Twice his

preparations have been destroyed, and before last war, vessels of different sizes from four guns to sixty-four were either burnt or sold for the benefit of the captors. His ports, though not the most convenient, would by his establishing a marine oblige the nation to keep up a respectable naval force in India for the protection of our trade.

To obviate the inconveniencies of defending forts immediately on the sea-coast, he has lately destroyed every one of that description. Onore, Mangalore, and Callicut are erased, and he has substituted others in their room more inland and less liable to our immediate assaults. On the high road leading to Bednore he has erected a fort on an elevated situation, with a walled town below : here he has magazines filled with the commodities of his upper country and which he transports on bullocks to the port of Corial-Bunder, where it is shipped by the trading vessels of the Arabs and Moors, whose connection he encourages in preference to all Europeans.

The river Beypore seemed to have been fixed on as his principal depot of naval stores and materials for ship-building. On the bar there is sufficient water to float vessels of great burden,



burden, and I have myself seen, (for I was stationed there several weeks during the war) a ship on the stocks, pierced for 64 guns, for which there was sufficient water to carry her out of the river. Teak from the mountains is easily conveyed, and his evident intentions was to fix on a situation which he could cover with a strong fortification, and become under his protection a flourishing port, calculated for the exportation of his staples and the other commodities of his country \*.

The Nabob having formed the plan, commenced to build a town agreeably to the European manner. Regular streets crossing each other at right angles bespoke neatness and uniformity. The Durbar or Government House was above half finished, and when completed would have formed a square of no inconsiderable extent. The Fort was erected on a rising ground, nearly three-fourths of a mile above the town, between it and the sea, and above a mile and a half from the entrance of the river. The new emporium he dignified with the name of Ferrockabad, or the "Happy Place." Colonel Hartley, with a detachment, after the

\* Beypore is now in our possession.

defeat of Murtaub Cawn, erected the English flag on the half-finished walls of the fort, when it was transferred to the possession of the British troops.

The fort is of his own construction, the most extraordinary I ever saw. The circumference of the body of the place is about a mile, and entirely circular. Alternately placed at equal distances are four square bastions and four towers, each intended to contain embrasures for six guns, and without out-works of any kind. The masonry excellent: freestone and lime exceedingly thick and solid. A ditch was begun and a covered-way intended. Water was procured by wells perforated through the rock, and above one hundred feet in depth, with a regular flight of steps cut almost to the bottom.

Should these proposed alterations be adopted, the Fort of Tellicherry would become altogether unnecessary. It is a place in its present situation neither capable of defence or improvement, but while we have nothing better, it is worthy of our attention. The lines raised for its protection, ever, in their present contracted state, are too extensive to  
be

be well defended by a small body of men, and nature has done as little for its situation, as any place that I have yet seen. For many years it has been a burthen to the Company, and at all times exposed to the insult and attack of the Nabob, where our troops have been often cooped up, and had it not been for their spirit and gallantry, must have fallen a prey to his superior numbers, and left us without a place of arms on the Coast of Malabar. It has been the unceasing aim of the Nabob to drive us from the vicinity of his country, by dispossessing us of the Carnatic, when Travancore and Tellicherry would become an easy prey, and his dominions extend from sea to sea.

The mode of warfare adopted by all the eastern powers, when opposed to an enemy of respectability and force, more especially a European one, is in the first place most determinedly to avoid a general action, and never to fight but where superiority and advantage is eminently conspicuous: for this reason it is that they seek every opportunity of attacking and cutting off detachments from the army, and reducing our numbers by every artifice, assisted by the best intelligence

gence that money can procure. In their own country, as our troops approach, they burn and destroy not only every village, but every blade of grass, in order to deprive us of provisions or forage, and oblige us either to detach and weaken our strength, or fall back towards our magazines. Should the war be carried into our country, plunder and devastation is every where prevalent, from their numerous Looties and Pindaries, while their main army watch every occasion of falling in with our escorts or foragers. It is rare they undertake a regular siege, which would infallibly lead to a decisive engagement. What they cannot attain by force of arms they think to accomplish by stratagem and art, whether by depriving the army of its provisions or stores, or by lengthening the war reduce our resources, or incite desertion among our troops. To these artifices Tippoo has a strong propensity, but his superior judgment has given him other advantages. Foreseeing the consequences and ardent temper of the English, knowing the incapacity of European troops to march in the sultry climate of India, and computing on the certain diminution of  
our

our force, he indulges our wishes, with the daily hopes of risking an action, but which he uniformly prevents, by out-marching us in every instance. Tippoo on this occasion has declared, that he would amuse the English army till their feet became swollen as large as those of an elephant, before he would engage them. To render himself superior to the native powers in India, Tippoo has introduced regularity and system amongst his troops, and his artillery is better served than any other. His knowledge of tactics is confined, and in evolutions he is exceedingly ignorant. His advantages, it must be allowed, ensure him more certain means of conquest than any of his neighbours, and in risking detachments against him, where he commands in person we cannot be too careful. To evince the truth of these assertions, and to give some idea of his military talents and exertions, as well as those of his generals, I need only refer to the more remarkable occurrences of the war. These recitals will convey a clear idea of the mode of warfare in India, and evince what I have already asserted, that Tippoo's troops fight gallantly when headed by himself, but that his detachments



ments are never to be depended on for either courage or fidelity.

I have been somewhat particular in describing the force and disposition of Tippoo, together with the situation of the coast of Malabar, in a military point of view: because I foresee in the event of another Indian war the strongest opposition from the quarter of Mysore. Tippoo is to Great Britain what Hannibal was to the Romans, and it is absurd to entertain an idea, that the interests of Tippoo can be rendered compatible with the prosperity of our empire in the East. We must regard Tippoo as a great military character, inveterate and cunning, and ready to take part with our enemies whenever occasion may offer, with probability of success. His intrigues with the northern powers of India, and his plans and connections with the Turkish Divan and the French Republic, declare in the most unequivocal manner, his sentiments in regard to us. It is fortunate for the British empire, that the system of French Republicanism, relying too much on the neutrality of the Porte, has in the recent invasion of Egypt, unhinged that sort of connection, which, had

had it existed in full force, might eventually have proved dangerous to our commerce with the East. The connection to which I allude, is that which might have been formed between the northern powers of India, Tippoo, the Turkish Empire, and the French Republic. Should we turn to the views of France in the early period of the revolution, we shall find it extremely jealous of our friendship with the Turks, and that they were determined to engross not only the whole trade of the Levant, but also in course of time, the Indian commerce by that medium, and the supreme command in the Mediterranean. At the moment when the Directors of the government of France deemed it inexpedient to attempt the power of the English in India, it was only because they did not wish to have a rupture with this country, and that time alone would work our destruction in the East. Condorcet, who was at this period a man of great weight and consideration in France, and Vice-president of the National Convention, published sentiments which fully tend to confirm what I have now advanced, and which throws a strong light on the views and designs of France: " England,"

said

said he, " no doubt has an interest in depriv-  
 " ing us of the friendship of the Turks, that  
 " she may be thereby enabled to exclude us  
 " from the Levant trade, which we at pre-  
 " sent carry on: but let her spin out her  
 " intrigues, the moment of our power is  
 " approaching, and then the minister who  
 " now hates and affects to despise us, will  
 " court our alliance; and the state which  
 " dictates Machiavelian policy to enrich it-  
 " self, may be caught in its own snares. A  
 " nation that forces its resources is nearer to  
 " its fall than it may imagine: the necessity  
 " of our having a fleet in the Mediter-  
 " ranean, is founded on this principle, that  
 " she ought once for all to break the league  
 " of the petty Princes of the South, and  
 " convince them of this plain and simple  
 " truth, that we fear them not: we will af-  
 " terwards think of the means of getting  
 " rid of the powers of the king of Sardinia,  
 " and favouring the dismemberment of the  
 " island, from which he derives his royal  
 " title. The expedition may be entrusted  
 " to Paoli with three frigates and 3000  
 " Corsicans; the Sardinians are islanders,  
 " and consequently formed for liberty: for  
 " in

“ in all times past, those who inhabited  
 “ islands and mountains have detested the  
 “ yoke of despotism. The conquest of Sar-  
 “ dinia will be an additional step toward  
 “ *universal republicanism*: then we may  
 “ think of our Levant trade, so useful to  
 “ our southern departments: commerce is  
 “ the offspring of industry, as industry is of  
 “ liberty; let us but be free, and strength,  
 “ wealth, and every other good will neces-  
 “ sarily follow. The Turks will stand in  
 “ need of us, they will give us whatever  
 “ we ask, and we shall find in the Levant  
 “ trade ample compensation for all our losses  
 “ in America: but to effect this, we must  
 “ rule the Mediterranean; it is our sea, we  
 “ must be superior there to the Russian  
 “ fleet, and wake the Empress from the  
 “ dream in which she fondly thinks she  
 “ can become mistress of Corsica, and pour  
 “ her Russians into Provence. We must  
 “ awe the confederated Bourbons of the  
 “ South, and be beforehand with their in-  
 “ tended armament for next spring: we  
 “ must make Spain tremble: let ten French  
 “ ships of war be sent to carry the three-  
 “ coloured cockade, and the declaration of  
 “ the

“ the Rights of Man into Catalonia. We  
 “ must let the Bourbon of Spain know, that  
 “ if he ventures to take in dudgeon what we  
 “ have done, we will recover from him Na-  
 “ varre, which of right belongs to him, and  
 “ then declare it free. We must be before-  
 “ hand with the other crowned Bourbon,  
 “ the King of the two Sicilies, and also the  
 “ great Master of Malta, who are confede-  
 “ rating against us. What is wanting to  
 “ accomplish all this : ten ships of the line  
 “ and some battalions of our great national  
 “ army. We have all Europe against us ;  
 “ then be it so, it is a glorious fight, and  
 “ equally worthy of us who bear a part in  
 “ it, of history that will record it, and of  
 “ prosperity that will read of it. Holland,  
 “ it was further observed, would be hurried  
 “ into the *republican vortex*, perhaps Eng-  
 “ land will also. But indemnify England  
 “ for the loss of her influence over Hol-  
 “ land, and the English commerce for open-  
 “ ing the Scheldt. We must propose to the  
 “ English government and merchants to de-  
 “ liver the Spanish colonies from the unjust  
 “ and heavy yoke imposed on them by the  
 “ mother country. This operation so easy  
 “ will



“ will open an inexhaustible source of riches.  
 “ Three squadrons are sufficient for this  
 “ operation, one in the Straits of Gibraltar,  
 “ one in the Gulf of Mexico, another on the  
 “ coasts of Chili and Leon, and a few frigates  
 “ at Manilla. These squadrons must  
 “ be half French half English, that we may  
 “ not inspire England with any jealousy.  
 “ Let us never think of molesting the  
 “ English in India; let us only have resting  
 “ places there: this will be enough.  
 “ The power of the English there becomes  
 “ colossal; it will destroy itself by  
 “ its own bulk. This event may be, perhaps,  
 “ much nearer than one thinks. The  
 “ Indians, by becoming more warlike every  
 “ day, will cause great disorders in Old  
 “ England.

“ In my opinion,” says Condorcet, “ the  
 “ true theory of colonies is, that they should  
 “ govern themselves; that they should be independent;  
 “ and that the mother countries  
 “ should carry on a free trade; and it is acknowledged  
 “ that commerce is never more flourishing  
 “ than when it enjoys perfect liberty: witness the loss  
 “ of America to England: its commerce has been more and

“ more extended, and America itself has in-  
 “ creased in riches, population, and con-  
 “ sumption. Suffer a free communica-  
 “ tion: this in a few words is the theory of  
 “ commerce.”

At the juncture when such vast designs were forming in the chimerical minds of the French, it may not be unacceptable to take a review of the state of their navy at that time, as the means by which they intended to effect their purposes. The Mediterranean fleet consisted of five ships, seven frigates, seven corvettes, and four packets. The Minister of the Marine had reinforced it with ten ships fitted out at Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort. The whole of their marine force consisted of 102 vessels: viz. twenty-one ships of the line, fifty frigates, eighteen corvettes, twenty-four armed packets, two sloops, and ten flutes; independent of these, the republic had in its port, fifty-three ships ready built, thirty-four of which were fit for being instantly equipped, and nineteen in such a state as to be susceptible of repairs. Of seven ships building, three of whom were ready to be launched, the republic had in its ports forty-one frigates ready built,  
 twenty-

twenty-four of which were ready to be fitted out, and the other seventeen capable of being repaired, and six frigates upon the stocks.

Such was the feeble state of the French navy in the year 1792: and we may now console ourselves, that our late brilliant naval victories, have reduced it to a situation so crippled, that it is no longer to be apprehended, or indeed to be regarded in the scale of maritime Europe. Their views in the Mediterranean are ruined, and their ideal schemes of engrossing the Indian commerce at an end. Their intentions of possessing themselves of the mouths of the Nile, the Borders of the Red Sea, the Banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the Persian Gulf, in direct opposition to the interest of the Turks and Arabs, was a speculation fit only for the warm imaginations of the French, and worthy only of their vapouring rhodomontade. If it was their intention to revolutionize Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, by means of the fixed inhabitants of these countries, it shows how little they were acquainted with their real situation. Had they consulted the elegant writers of their own nation, Savary and Volney, on this subject, they

would have discovered the wretched and humiliating state of the people they intended to organize : they surely could not suppose that the roving Arabs, whose characteristic is freedom, would submit to the unjust proceedings of a French military democratic power : a monster hideous in itself and destructive to those who have experienced its mischievous and baneful dominion.

It never has been doubted that human nature, in a state of degradation is utterly incapable of liberty, or of receiving those impressions which tend to promote it. The mind of man must be humanised, and taught to feel and to understand that reciprocal justice is true liberty. To effect a radical change in the wicked and debased character of a nation, sunk in every vice, and entirely given up to every sort of infamy, is a progressive work of much labour ; and requiring in the first place, not only the example of public virtue, but the most strict attention to private morals. Whether the Egyptians, who are in this wretched situation, can derive from the manner, habits, and proceedings of the French, those noble and just sentiments necessary to promote and accelerate a reform,

is

is a question easily to be solved. Soldiers and men of desperate fortune are not the best patterns of justice and excellence, even were the Egyptians in a state ready to receive the impression.

That the French Directory have miscalculated in their expedition to Egypt, must appear evident to every one. If their intention was colonisation, who were to colonise? Not the soldiers, from whom habits of industry could not be expected: it must have been by emigration from France, a country already much depopulated and neglected. To have accomplished this, the power of the French must have been predominant in the Mediterranean; and they must also have had the command in the Red Sea and of Upper Egypt. Alexander the Great, before he attacked the city of Tyre, meditated an expedition to Egypt; but the want of naval superiority in the Mediterranean was his reason for then declining it. By the reduction of Tyre and Phenicia, Alexander calculated on the capture of their numerous navy, and at that time in the hands of the Persians;

\* Arrian, Vol. I. p. 108.



this circumstance ought to have been remembered by the French Directory. We will, however, suppose for a moment, that the French had established themselves in Egypt, and that they threatened the destruction of English commerce with India: in this situation remedies might still be applied to render all these schemes fruitless and abortive. The Nile, which fertilises the country through which it runs, flows by a long and straight course through the kingdoms of Abyssinia and Nubia, before it descends into the lower country, where it forms by its many mouths the Delta of Egypt. The mutual intercourse of these countries is very great, by means of the navigation of the Nile; and lower Egypt, notwithstanding its own prolific and abundant soil, stands greatly in want of many supplies from those countries which the Nile waters in its course. The situation of the coast of Malabar and its vicinity to the Straits of Babel Mandel, together with our naval force in those seas, would command entire possession of the Red Sea, and enable the East-India Company to detach from their settlements on that coast, an army of native troops to occupy the Banks of the Nile, and  
entirely

entirely to cut off the communication between Upper and Lower Egypt. These troops might be landed at Cosier, from whence they could be marched to Ghennah, on the Nile. The Arabs would fully keep awake the attention of the French on the side of Syria and towards the Delta, and the Mediterranean Sea. Another circumstance of no inconsiderable import ought to be attended to. Those Arabs who inhabit the shores of the Red Sea, cannot fail to regard the invasion of the French with a jealous eye, and would, no doubt, cheerfully exert themselves to drive out the invaders. The native troops of India being of the same religion with the Arabs, at least many of them being so, it is to be supposed that from a similarity of manners and customs they would readily assimilate, and act together on the same principles of opposition towards the French. The French at all events, having a powerful body of Arabs in their front, and a considerable force ready to fall down the Nile on their rear, would be reduced to the greatest extremities, and ultimately forced to surrender at discretion. It may however be reasonably expected that this event has already taken

place. But should any apprehension of the success and power of the French create serious alarm in the minds of Government and the East-India Company, so as to justify a measure, dictated by political expediency, and which necessity only can approve; there is no doubt that the plan of the Great Albuquerque could be carried into execution, and the current of the Nile be diverted into the Red Sea; Egypt would become an uninhabitable Desert, and the present people would be obliged to retire into Syria, there to cultivate, what are highly capable of improvement, its extensive uninhabited plains. And it may be a consolation, that the degenerated Egyptians, under the influence of a different climate, might possibly become more useful, and, as members of society, better deserving encouragement and protection.

If the views of the French in regard to Egypt have been deceitful and fallacious, those in regard to the Euphrates, Tygris, and the Gulf of Persia are no less so. The designs of Buonaparte on Bombay\* and Surat from this quarter, do not deserve to be seriously examined. The designs of Tippoo, I

\* Appendix, E.

believe, are more mature than what the French have on this subject, publicly declared: and I shall in this place explain on what data my opinion is formed.

It would be a laborious task to trace the different irruptions into the plains of Hindostan by the first Mahomedan Conquerors. It is sufficient to observe, that on the division of the empire of Alexander, there arose in the countries situated between Parthia and the Indus, and lying to the South of the river Iihon or Oxus, a very considerable kingdom, known by the name of Bactria. This kingdom, after many vicissitudes, came under the extensive dominion of the Caliphs; but towards the close of the 9th century, the period when the empire of the Caliphs fell into decline, this country as well as Bucharia, was seized on by one of the Governors under the Caliphat. As the history of the countries between the Caspian Sea and Eastern Tartary, has been a continued series of revolt, so in the year 960, Abistagi, the Governor of Korasan, withdrew his allegiance from the King of Bucharia, and founded the empire of Ghizna, comprehending nearly the same countries as the ancient Bactria. This  
usurper

usurper established his capital at Ghizna, a town situated on the river Cow Mull, at no great distance, westward from the Indus. Subuctagi succeeded Abeftagi, who made some predatory incursions into the Panjab; but the glory, if any, of being the first Mahomedan Conqueror of India devolved on his son Mahmood Sultan, a Prince of great enterprize and military spirit. At this period the empire of Hindostan had not been contaminated by foreign invasion. The inhabitants spoke the language of their ancestors which is now disused, and only known to the Pundits, or learned Bramins, and they enjoyed the free exercise of the Hindoo religion undisturbed.

Mahmood Sultan, having added Bucharia to his kingdom, resolved to cross the Indus, and to turn his arms towards Hindostan. Accordingly in the year 1000, he set out on this expedition. The Rajapoots, who then inhabited the districts of Moultan and Lahore, opposed him for eight years, with great bravery, and with various success. Notwithstanding the combination of the Hindoo Princes, this successful and determined invader, after repeated expeditions, in the year 1011, made himself



himself master of Delhi. It does not appear that this conquest gave him unlimited empire in the East: for the Rajapoots of Agemire he found it impossible to subdue. From the effect of a religion newly acquired, the rage of Mahmood was particularly directed against the temples of the Hindoos and other places of sacred institution. But he found means to establish his authority over the Panjab\*, and he subdued and nominally retained all the country from the Ganges to Guzarat, inclusive, leaving the Decan and the Peninsula of India to future conquerors. This is the short history of the first permanent establishments in Hindostan, enforced by the Mahomedan Tartars, and who by degrees fixed their capital at Lahore. These successes were followed up by Mahomed the Second, of Ghorean extraction, and by the different Dynasties of Patans, or Afghans and Moguls.

It will be here observed, that Hyder Ally, the founder of the Myssoorean Empire, and the father of Tippoo Sultan, took for his model the famous Mahmood: and became to the

\* The Panjab is that tract of country watered by the five great rivers to the eastward of the Indus, and which fall into that river.

Hindoos of the Peninsula what that Prince had been to the inhabitants of Hindostan \*. The son no less cruel, trod in the footsteps of his father, and looked forward to establish a new Dynasty of Mahomedan Emperors over all the southern provinces of India. Like the first barbarous hordes that invaded Hindostan, the rage of Hyder and Tippoo was fatal to all, not of the Mahomedan religion, and to the Pagodas of the Hindoos. Tippoo endeavours to trace his descent from the savage conquerors who preceded him, and would no doubt, glory in the commission of the same crimes, and exert the same means to accomplish his views. We cannot in this place help betraying a smile, when we consider the vanity of Tippoo, and his anxiety about pedigree, and compare it with some

\* The term Hindostan is improperly applied to all the country which lies between the rivers Ganges and Indus, to the East and West: the mountains of Thibet to the North, and the Sea to the South, which includes the whole Peninsula of India. In fact, Hindostan proper is intersected by the line of 21 or 22 north latitude, and extending northward to the mountains above mentioned. The country lying immediately to the South is called the Deccan, while the still more southern provinces are distinguished by the names of the Coasts of Malabar, and Coromandel; the Concan, Circars, &c.

of

of our European countrymen, who like him, are perhaps, as much at a loss to account for their riches, titles, and honours. It is not the *palman qui meruit* of Lord Nelson, which falls to the share of all who are enriched and ennobled.

Tippoo's object being to establish, as we have already observed, the Mahomedan conquests over India, regards the assistance of the successor to the throne of Mahmood Sultan, Emperor of Ghizna, as essential to his success.

Since the time of Mahmood this empire has undergone several changes and vicissitudes. The line of the Ghiznian Emperors continued in the possession of this vast kingdom till the year 1158, when the irruptions of the Gaurides from a territory beyond the mountains of Ghurgistan, seized on the western part of the empire, and became an independent state under Mahomed the Second, called Mahomed Gori, from the name of his former country. Cusroe the Ghiznian, being thus driven from the greatest part of his dominions, nevertheless retained that part which was contiguous to the Indus, and

Lahore

Lahore became his capital: but this was only for a while, for the successors of Cusroe were dispossessed of the portion which remained to them by the same Mahomed, who carried his arms to Benares, the seat of Hindoo elegance and literature. The Mahomedans of the Patan or Afghan Dynasty pursued their conquests with success till the reign of the great Aurengzebe or Allumgire, when the empire of the Moguls arrived at the zenith of its glory. During all this time, the western part of this vast extent of territory was under the management of Governors, appointed by the Court of Delhi: and amongst other countries, those comprehending the original Ghiznian empire.

Early in the present century the kingdom of Persia was governed by a Monarch, who was not inferior either in sanguinary acts, or in rapine and depredation to those we have already mentioned: this was Thamas Kouli Cawn. To exemplify his conduct and pursuits it need only be mentioned, that 100,000 people were massacred, and a plunder collected and carried into Persia, amounting to no less a sum than sixty-two millions of our money. Besides this, he added to his empire

all

all that part appertaining to Hindostan, lying to the westward of the Indus.

On the death of Thamas, better known by the name of Nadir Shah, his empire, like that of Alexander, was torn in pieces. Abdallah, who had been one of his generals, and who, it is asserted, was a native Prince of the Afghan race, despoiled of his country by the Persian emperor, and obliged by him to follow his fortunes, laid hold of the eastern part of Persia, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Candahar\*. This kingdom is nearly the same with that of ancient Ghizna, comprehending Candahar, Cabul, Cashmere, and Khorasan, and having the whole country on the western banks of the Indies, from the city of Attock to the Gulf of Cutch, subject to his tribute and control, and of which Major Rennell gives the following account.

Timur Shaw, (the successor of Ahmud Abdalla, late King of Candahar, Korasan, &c. who died about the year 1773,) possesses in Hindostan nothing more than the country of Cashmere, and some inconsiderable districts contiguous to the eastern bank of

\* Appendix, F.



the Indies, above the city of Attock. On the death of Nadir he suddenly appeared among his former subjects, and in a short time erected for himself a considerable kingdom in the eastern part of Persia : adding to it, most of the Indian provinces ceded by the Mogul to Nadir Shaw. It has been asserted that Abdalla had arisen to a high command in the Persian army ; and that his departments of course occasioning a large sum of money to center with him ; he, on the death of Nadir Shaw, availed himself of the use of these treasures, to carry off a part of the army. He established his capital at Cabul, near the hither foot of the Indian Caucasus ; and it appeared by the accounts of Mr. Forster, who traversed the country of Timur Shaw in 1783, that his subjects live under an easy government, that is, for an Asiatic one. The revenues and military force of Candahar have not come to my knowledge. The military establishment has been given at 200,000 men. I know Abdalla had regular infantry, clothed like the British Sepoys, and at one time made use of the British manufactures for that purpose. This trade,

trade went by Sindy and up the Indus, and by its branches to Cabul. The trade has long been at an end.

This country is now governed by Zemaun Shaw. With this prince, Tippoo has courted an alliance, as I have before mentioned, with a view to establish an empire of universal Mahomedanism over India. In this conjunction the British power would be the first attacked. Our empire in that quarter may therefore be considered as the great barrier between the Hindoos and the Mahomedan princes of India: for the downfall of the British government in that country would, no doubt, be very soon followed by the expulsion of the Aboriginal Hindoos, or at least by the complete overthrow of their empire in the East.

By attention to the map of India and the position of the Seicks, we shall find in that nation an insuperable bar to the march of Zemaun Shaw to the frontiers of Oude and the provinces of Bengal. The whole of the country of the Seicks is intersected by five large rivers, to the eastward of the Indus, and inhabited by a warlike and powerful race. These people were first noticed in the reign of Shah Ichan, who began his reign in

the year 1628, about which time they became settlers along the mountains, which form the boundary of Hindostan to the north. They differ considerably from the Hindoos, being tolerant, and admitting profelytes amongst them, although they hold Mahomedism in great detestation. The Seicks became formidable in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, about the year 1707, and obliged that monarch to oppose them in person with a considerable army : but in the year 1616 they were so powerful that the Grand Army of the Mogul empire was under the necessity of marching against them.

“ The Seicks \* may be reckoned the most  
 “ western nation of Hindostan : for the King  
 “ of Candahar possesses but an inconsiderable  
 “ extent of territory, on the east of the Indus ;  
 “ but since the complete downfall of the Mo-  
 “ gul empire, they have acquired very exten-  
 “ sive domains ; but their power ought not to  
 “ be estimated in the exact proportion to the  
 “ extent of their possessions, since they do not  
 “ form one entire state ; but a number of small  
 “ acres, independent of each other in their in-

\* Vide Major Rennell, page cxxi.

" ternal government, and only connected by a  
 " federal union. They have extended their  
 " territories on the south-east, that is, into the  
 " province of Delhi, very rapidly of late years;  
 " and perhaps the Zemindars of that country  
 " may have found it inconvenient to place  
 " themselves under the protection of the  
 " Seicks, in order to avoid the more oppres-  
 " sive government of their former masters.  
 " Certain it is, that the eastern boundary of the  
 " Seicks' dominions has been advanced to the  
 " banks of the Jumnah river, above Delhi;  
 " and to the neighbourhood of that city, for  
 " the adjoining territory of Sehaumpour is  
 " subject to their depredations, if not actually  
 " tributary to them, and that they make ex-  
 " cursions to the very side of the Ganges. On  
 " the south, they are bounded by the northern  
 " extreme of the sandy Desart of Registan;  
 " and on the south-west their boundary meets  
 " that of Sindy or Tatta, at the city of Beh-  
 " ker, or Bhaker, on the Indus. On the west,  
 " the Indus is their general boundary, as high  
 " up as the city of Attock, near to which be-  
 " gin the territories of the King of Candahar,  
 " and their northern boundary is the chain of  
 " mountains that lies towards Thibet and

“ Cashmere. This being the case, they will be  
 “ found to possess the whole Soubah or Pro-  
 “ vince of Lahore, the principal part of Moul-  
 “ tain, and the western part of Delhi, the  
 “ dimensions of which tracts are above 400  
 “ British miles from N. W. to S. E. and from  
 “ 150 to 200 broad in general; although in  
 “ the part between Attock and Behkar (that  
 “ is, along the Indus) the extent cannot be  
 “ less than 320. Their capital city is Lahore.  
 “ We know but little concerning the state of  
 “ their government and politics; but the  
 “ former is represented as being mild. In their  
 “ mode of making war, they are unquestion-  
 “ ably savage and cruel. Their army consists  
 “ almost entirely of horse, of which they are  
 “ said to be able to bring at least 100,000 into  
 “ the field. It is fortunate that the Oude do-  
 “ minions have the Ganges for a barrier be-  
 “ tween them and this army of plunderers.  
 “ Abdalla was accustomed to pass through the  
 “ country of the Sheicks during his visits to  
 “ Delhi as late as the years 1760 and 1761,  
 “ and indeed meditated the conquest of it; but  
 “ it is probable that with the present strength  
 “ of the Seicks, no King of Candahar will  
 “ attempt either the one or the other. It was  
 “ lately



“ lately reported, that the Seicks were in  
 “ amity with Timur Shah of Candahar, and  
 “ meant to allow his army a passage through  
 “ their territories. This, however, appears  
 “ highly improbable: the progress of an In-  
 “ dian army, effecting nearly an equal degree  
 “ of desolation, whether it enters a country  
 “ on terms of hostility or of amity.”

From the illustration which I have given, the reader will easily discover the nature of the connection and of that alliance which I have before remarked. A plan which might have been rendered more destructive than the mad ambitious schemes of the French Directory. I trust that I may be excused in remarking, that to oppose the northern hordes of Mahomedan Tartars, the good-will and opinion of the Seicks and the Rajah-Poots of Agemire, ought, by the East India Company, to be particularly conciliated. It is, however, a fortunate circumstance, as already observed, that the river Granges affords so strong a barrier against the inroads of the Barbarians, and an excellent line of defence to cover and protect our possessions in Hindostan.

Notwithstanding that I endeavour to avoid all speculative reasoning, I cannot help

observing, that the plans of the French differ very widely from my ideas, regarding the object they have in view. If it be the overthrow of our power in India, they have approached us where we are least vulnerable, and the means which they have taken to accomplish our ruin, must terminate in their own destruction and disgrace.

The executive power of this country, by continuing the war, will, undoubtedly, have the sole merit of being the cause of that favourable turn in public affairs, which now begins to brighten in the horizon of politics. For it may be hoped that the French Republic has already outlived its glory. Neither the terror of her arms, or the allurements which she held out are so predominant in Europe as in the early stages of her ambitious career. Time, which discloses the secret sentiments of men, and is the touchstone of events, has developed the true system of the French: and we have only to turn to Condorcet, whose principles and plans they have adopted, to prove, that the whole tenor of their proceedings tended to their own aggrandizement and *universal Republicanism*.

The

The procrastination of the Commissioners at Rastadt, which has prevented the Germanic body from acceding to an injurious peace, and the alliance formed between the Emperor of Germany and that of Russia, in which the Porte is inclinable to acquiesce, bids fair by a renewal of hostilities to compel the Republic to measures of moderation and justice. The allied powers most probably, by the influence of Russia, will draw Sweden and Denmark into the combination : and there can be no doubt, but that the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, together with the Swiss Cantons, will readily give their support.

In Holland there are many of the Stadtholder's friends, who anxiously wait the opportunity of commencing a revolution in his favour. The King of Prussia will not remain an idle spectator. His actions will be guided by particular views ; but there is little reason to apprehend that he will espouse the cause of the French in the face of all Europe. The Spaniards have been long inactive, and will be still less inclined to exertion as the French Directory lessens in their estimation,

and that they have less to dread from their resentment. The sentiments of Portugal are well known.

In Belgium an insurrection has taken place, with considerable vigour, and perhaps with effect : at all events, it will direct the attention of the French to this quarter, and oblige them to detach from their armies on the Rhine. The Arch Duke it is understood has proceeded thither, to re-assume the command of the Austrian forces, and the Russian troops now on their march through Germany may be expected early in the Spring to form a junction with those of the Germanic body.

Great Britain, I have already observed, will richly deserve an indemnification for the blood and treasure she has expended in the war. The cession of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope : the Spice Islands, and a Port or Ports in the Mediterranean \*, will add to our security and enable the executive power to transmit to posterity a growing empire, full of resources, and capable of attaining the highest degree of gradual improvement.

I have pointed out the situation of public affairs in India during my stay in that country.

\* Appendix G.

An indispenfible duty required my return to Great Britain, at all events by the laft fhip of the feafon, or by the over-land route: but practical experience of the difficulties and delays which impede the conveyance of intelligence by the way of Buffora, led me to confider whether a more eligible route might not be adopted for the intercourfe between Great Britain and India.

I refolved on preferring the route by Suez to a fea conveyance. With every exertion on my part to expedite the journey, it will be obferved, that by the way of Buffora, fuch were the unavoidable procraftinations I had to encounter, that it required fix months to complete it. I have annexed a note \*, to fhew the nature of thefe delays. While my thoughts were occupied on this fubject, I had the good fortune to meet with Colonel Capper's very able and interefting narrative of his journies to and from India, both by Buffora and Suez, and the fatisfaction to find the opinion of a gentleman, fo well qualified to decide upon the fubject, perfectly coincided with my own, as to preference to be given in every point of view to the

\* Appendix, H.



route through Egypt. The necessity for the execution of the plan originally suggested by Colonel Capper for establishing a regular post with India, will, it is presumed, be evident to those who consider the delay and insecurity which war creates in the conveyance of intelligence by sea, and the additional importance it frequently gives to the intelligence to be conveyed. And as war is, I fear, to be calculated among the too probable contingencies of empire, and even the period of the present awful contest not to be foreseen, I trust I may be permitted to suggest, that during a state of hostility with any of the maritime powers of Europe, the value of an expeditious and regular communication with India over land is considerably enhanced. Our ships are retarded to wait for convoys, and to sail in fleets; and they sail at last with a risque of falling into the enemy's hands, and of thereby converting that intelligence intended for our safety into an instrument for our destruction\*. Nor will it escape the

\* From the brilliant success of the Marquis Cornwallis over Tippoo Sultaun; his having resigned the government of British India in the best possible state of progressive

the most careless observer, that the political and commercial interests of India are more intimately interwoven with the general prosperity of the empire, and those interests better understood, and more beneficially and ably conducted, than at any former period of the connection between these remote countries. Soon after my return to India, and while the impression of the difficulties of the journey by Buffora was recent, I drew up  
 “ Some Considerations on the propriety and  
 “ practicability of sending Dispatches from  
 “ India by the way of Suez, and from India  
 “ to England, by the same route,” which  
 were presented to Major General Aber-

gressive improvement, in which state it still continues;—from the advantages gained in that quarter during the late contest, we are left without a rival in the eastern hemisphere, unless indeed, Buonaparte should be able to conduct an army to India; a circumstance not to be expected, and from being attended with the utmost difficulty and risk, by no means to be seriously dreaded. The termination of the depending war, favourable, it is hoped, to Great Britain, will afford many years of tranquillity, to perfect the work so successfully and judiciously commenced. It is not to be supposed, from the combination of so many favourable circumstances, but that every useful endeavour to promote present advantage, and future security, will be minutely attended to.

cromby,

eromby, then Governor of Bombay, accompanied by an offer to make the attempt in one of the Company's cruizers, and to trust to the liberality of the Court of Directors for reimbursement, should the event justify the expectation I had formed. It is evident, General Abercromby thought the scheme practicable and expedient, for he accepted the proposal, and an armed vessel, belonging to the Company was detained on the coast of Malabar, from November 1790, till February 1791, for the express purpose of conveying me to Suez, with public dispatches. It happened unfortunately, however, that no event occurred in that interval of sufficient importance to require a particular dispatch; the idea was at that time given up, and I was under the necessity of proceeding to England in the Worcester Indiaman. I am happy to learn, that the government of Bombay have lately established an over-land post by the way of Buffora, and that it has succeeded\*; and, I trust, it is not assuming too much, to presume, that the Memorial I had the honour to lay before that Government, in the year 1790, has contributed to it.

Of late years a cruizer has annually been

\*Appendix, I.

sent from Bombay to Suez with government dispatches, with orders to wait the return of others from England. The following extract of a letter from Bombay, dated the 6th of February, 1796, convinced me of the determination on the part of Government, not only to uphold, but to extend the regular post in India, and ultimately by the Desarts of Arabia to Great Britain. But the renewal of a channel of communication by Suez is much to be preferred, and becomes every day more important, in proportion as our dominions in the East are extended and improved, and the facility and expedition of which will be increased, and become manifest the oftener it is resorted to, and more especially, should it be sanctioned by Government and the East-India Company.

“ The doubtful and irregular communication which has hitherto subsisted between  
 “ Bombay and the subordinates, has long  
 “ been a subject of regret: this inconvenience, we are happy to learn, has attracted  
 “ the attention of Government, and that arrangements have been formed to make the  
 “ communication in which the public and  
 “ private interests are so much concerned, at  
 once

“ once certain and expeditious : by estab-  
 “ lishing a weekly intercourse, as well with  
 “ the Malabar province, as with Surat. For  
 “ this purpose, packets will be dispatched  
 “ every Saturday, after the first of March,  
 “ to Cavai, the northern boundary of the  
 “ province ; by this means saving a great  
 “ deal of time, which vessels are frequently  
 “ accustomed to lose in beating off Mount  
 “ Dilla : on the other hand, the communi-  
 “ cation with Surat, we understand, is to be  
 “ more frequent than heretofore : by a cruizer  
 “ to be dispatched every quarter of the  
 “ moon, a circumstance that will remove  
 “ those delays and dangers to which fleets  
 “ have so often been exposed for want of  
 “ convoy.”

The dangers and the anxieties arising from  
 the want of such communication between  
 Great Britain and her India settlements, dur-  
 ing the two last wars, are fresh in the me-  
 mory of many, and will not be easily for-  
 gotten. The want of early intelligence  
 nearly occasioned the loss of our possessions  
 on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar ;  
 and this loss would have shook the security  
 of every foot of land we held in India.

At



At the first of these periods, the vigilance and active zeal of Mr. Hastings saved that country \*. That gentleman, besides his other efforts in the public cause, has the merit of being the first Governor of British India, that endeavoured to reap the advantages of a communication between England and that remote country by the way of Suez. Some time in the year 1774 he opened a negotiation with the Beys of Egypt, and obtained their consent to a free intercourse, which in 1778. was of singular benefit. The dispatches, ordering the reduction of Pondicherry, were forwarded by this route, and the fall of the principal French settlements in India, before they were prepared, or had the least knowledge of the war, gave a mor-

\* The acquittal of Mr. Hastings cannot fail of being received in this country, and over all British India with the highest satisfaction. While it establishes the innocence of that gentleman, it reflects the highest lustre on national justice, and the security we enjoy under the protection of a happy constitution. The liberal vote of the East-India Company to discharge the law expences incurred by Mr. Hastings on his late trial, and a handsome pension besides, testify the high consideration they entertain of his eminent services, so justly estimated by Mr. Lushington in his able speech on the occasion.

tal wound to the power of our great rival in that quarter; an event which operated strongly in our favour, when we were soon after attacked by the combined powers of India; for by this unexpected blow, their ally was deprived of a strong depot of men, arms, and ammunition, placed in the centre of the seat of war, and in the vicinity of Fort St. George.

This plan avowedly beneficial as a measure of policy, was opposed in this country, on commercial considerations. The object of Mr. Hastings, in this arrangement, was to promote at once the interest of policy and of commerce; but because the trade intended to be carried on by Suez, was deemed prejudicial to the interests of the East India Company, the political advantages of the measure were sacrificed to the Company's exclusive trade. An act of Parliament was obtained, prohibiting English subjects from trading to that port after the 5th of July 1782. Thus ended the intercourse between India and Europe by the port of Suez.

Had not Mr. Hastings's scheme been thus obstructed, this communication, it is probable, would have been now open, at least for

for the purpose of conveying intelligence ; but the opposition of the East-India Company was strengthened by the influence of our ambassador at the Porte ; and the Beys of Egypt, finding all intercourse discouraged by both governments, had but little inducement to keep it up.

The check so decidedly given to a communication by the way of Suez, contributes to render the judicious appointment of a Consul-General for Egypt abortive. I apprehend that the original intention of this appointment was not any trade overland, but a speedy conveyance of intelligence to and from India\*. The central situation of Cairo, and its vicinity to the European powers, would enable the Consul, were this route more frequented by us, to procure and expedite much important information to our Governments in India ; and it is worthy of re-

\* Mr. Baldwin's appointment as Agent to the East-India Company at Cairo, was made some time about the year 1775 : and as far as I understand, for the express purpose of forwarding packets to and from England, by the way of Alexandria and Suez. Before this period we had but little or no connection with the Beys of Egypt, excepting Mr. Hastings's negotiation, just mentioned.

mark, that the communication by the Red Sea, has twice, in fifteen years, accelerated the reduction of the French capital on the coast of Coromandel\*.

While

\* In the war before last, it was the intelligence conveyed by this channel, as above observed, that called forth the prompt and timely exertions of Mr. Hastings. In the last war Mr. Baldwin, the present Consul-General, without any instructions from Great Britain, with equal judgment and patriotic zeal, transmitted to India positive assurances of the French Declaration of War. Mr. Eyles Irwin, late of the Madras establishment, says, " Mr. Baldwin is the only Merchant of the English nation at Cairo, and is Agent for the Company, for forwarding their packets to and from India; and, considered in itself, this is a point of no little importance to that political body. The advantage of quick intelligence is no secret to a wise government. The passage home is indeed, as yet, precarious by the difficult navigation of the Gulf of Suez, but the passage out is sure and expeditious. There is an instance not two months ago, (in the month of July,) of a Mr. Whithill's coming from London to Cairo in a month; he was charged with the restoration of Lord Pigot to the government of Fort St. George; and it is supposed, will get to that place in the same period—a voyage which is seldom effected by the Cape of Good Hope in double that time." Irwin's Voyage up the Red Sea, vol. ii. pag. 84.

On the same subject it is observed by Mr. Niebuhr, that the passage has been found so short and convenient

While the English nation deprived themselves of the navigation of the Red Sea, the French continued, all the war with Hyder Ally, to forward intelligence by that route. To contrast the advantage of this communication to the French, with the disadvantages of the want of it in this nation, it is only necessary to be remembered, that the news of Colonel Baillie's defeat was long known in France before it reached England; and at last, when it arrived, in the month of April, it was too late to send supplies by the ships of the season\*.

The

" nient, that the Presidency of Bombay now send their  
 " couriers by the way of Suez to England. In this  
 " way they receive answers to their dispatches within  
 " the same length of time which was formerly consumed in the conveyance of their packets to London." Vol. ii. pag. 389. The reasons why this communication has not been better upheld might be thought irrelevant to the present purpose, especially as government seem inclined again to prefer it.

\* Colonel Capper's Introduction to his Observations on the passage to India, page xxii. It may be added, that the propriety of a dispatch early in the year from the Malabar by the way of Suez, must appear evident, especially during a war. It would be attended with circumstances peculiarly hard, if the voyage was not performed much within the three months, and consequently



The Preliminary Articles of Peace with France and Spain, signed in Europe the 20th of January 1783, did not interrupt the progress of hostilities in India till the end of June, or the beginning of July following: And even then, the advices conveyed over land, were communicated by a private channel to Lord M'Cartney, at that time Governor of Madras\*. His Lordship, in consequence of this communication, prevailed on Monsieur Buffy (who, it is said, was privately in possession of the intelligence) to consent to a cessation of arms till the arrival of official dispatches from Europe. Had the Preliminaries arrived so soon as they might easily have done, (for it is a fact, that advices of this event were forwarded from London early in the year, both by the way of Buffora

in time for the sailing of the latter ships of the season, and afford an opportunity of forwarding the necessary supplies to India, without either delay, or putting the Company to a heavy expence in taking up extra tonnage, when they would arrive in time for the ensuing campaign.

\* It is generally understood, that the first advices of this event were received by Mr. Benfield, a gentleman who was at considerable trouble and expence in obtaining the earliest overland intelligence on the coast of Coromandel.

and

and the Cape of Good Hope) it would have prevented the fatal consequences of two actions at land, and an engagement at sea, in which eighty officers fell and upwards of 2,000 men\*. Had not chance advices happily anticipated the dilatory intelligence by sea at this interesting period, a formidable attack on our lines before Cuddalore would have taken place, where the enemy's garrison was to have been reinforced by a strong detachment from Suffrein's fleet†. It is allowed by every person conversant with India affairs at the time, that our army, then in the Carnatic, was too weak to repel such an attack; and that by its defeat, the country would have been laid entirely open to the invading

\* In the actions of the 13th and 25th June 1783 upwards of two thousand men were lost, besides those killed in the engagement by sea nearly at the same period. Official advices did not arrive at Madras till July, whereas, at the season of the year when the Preliminary Articles were signed, viz. the 20th of January, had notice of this important event been forwarded to our Governments abroad by the way of Suez, Lord M'Cartney would to a certainty have been in the possession of the dispatches about the end of March, or very early in April following.

† Colonel Capper's Preface, page vi.

enemy.

enemy. Another striking instance of the want of intelligence, occurs in our last war with Spain, which was not known in India, till nearly eleven months after it broke out in Europe\*.

The want of intelligence from Bombay, during the late war with Tippoo Saib, is too recent, and too deeply impressed on our minds, to require much elucidation. The fluctuation of stock will furnish an incontestable proof of that disadvantage. The scarcity of official information from India, afforded many opportunities to speculators to agitate the funds, and even the fictions of party were successively practised, to the injury of general credit and national character. I may venture to affirm, that not one public dispatch was received by the way of Suez, during the whole war†. The Court of

\* Colonel Caper's Preface, page vi.

† Besides the advantages already enumerated in regard to speedy intelligence, that of its affording an opportunity of applying preventative measures in a political point of view, becomes highly interesting to a country possessed of distant dependencies.—Preventative measures are much more efficacious and salutary, than any attempt to remove an evil where an impression has been made.

Directors, it is true, have occasionally made use of this channel to convey their dispatches to India, and with what effect, has been ascertained, in no instance more conspicuously than Mr. Whithill's route by Suez to Madras, when in charge of the Company's orders to restore Lord Pigot; which journey he accomplished in fifty-nine days from London to Fort St. George! Yet with such experience of the celerity of this channel of conveyance by Suez\*: it is seldom made use of to transmit intelligence from India to Europe†.

\* Mr. Whithill arrived at Cairo from London within the month: and it appears from the report of the African Association lately published, that Mr. Ledyard, a gentleman employed by them, left London the 30th of June 1788, and after a journey of thirty-six days, seven of which were consumed at Paris, and two at Marseilles, he arrived at Alexandria—from Alexandria to Cairo by the mouth of the Nile, he was four days, which makes in all thirty-one days from London to Cairo; and this in the usual mode of travelling, without any particular view to expedition.

† Gibbon, vol. I. chapter ii. informs us of the great attention paid by the Romans to the advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity through all their extensive dominions, by  
the

the means of regular posts; and Dr. Robertson in his History of America, Book v. page 16, acquaints us of a fact but little understood, that the Mexican Emperors had introduced a refinement in policy unknown at that time in Europe.—They had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and these were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate distances: they conveyed intelligence with amazing rapidity, and obtained early information of every occurrence in all the corners of the Empire.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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